CMP-SPRCM-75-19

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B. C. C.

June 30-July 7, 1975

U. I. C. C.
AUG 27 1975
LIBRARY

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NTIS
National Technical Information Service
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CMP-SPRCM-75-19

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B.C.C.

No. 827-828
June 30-July 7, 1975

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Page

Deepen the Study of Theory, Promote Stability and Unity - by Yüeh Hai (p. 3) 2

Study of Marxism Requires Protracted Efforts - by Li Chun (p. 7) 6

Study Theory Well, Carry Out Policy - by Ch'eng Yüeh (p. 10) 10

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Reproduced by
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U S Department of Commerce
Springfield VA 22151

Page

Strengthen Education Among Young People - by Chiang Hung (p. 13) . . 14

Exchange Through Money and Current Class Struggle
- by Hsia Li-chih (p. 18) 20

Adhere to Socialist Principle in Exchanging Commodities (p. 23) . . . 26

Strive to Raise One's Own Marxist-Leninist Level
- by Li T'ieh (p. 27) 31

Organize Workers to Read and Study Seriously (p. 31) 36

Young People Should Be Promoters in Narrowing the
Three Major Differences (p. 35) 41

Transform the Cultural Army in the Proletarian Image
- by Tu Hua-chang (p. 40) 47

Keep on Doing the Work of Medical Teams Well
- by Wei Ko (p. 45) 53

Further Develop the Film Projection Network in the
Countryside - by Chung Ying (p. 50) 60

The Legalist School Was a Product of Big Social
Changes During the Spring and Autumn and
Warring States Periods - by Liang Szu-yüan (p. 54) 66

Take the Tach'ing Road, Build a "Railway on the Sea" (p. 62) 76

Run the Enterprise in the Revolutionary Spirit of the
Proletariat (p. 67) 82

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, government office, and school.

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole nation.

Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. Therefore, we should read more Marxist-Leninist books.

* * *

Deepen the Study of Theory, Promote Stability and Unity

by

Yüeh Hai (岳海)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

The movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, personally led by Chairman Mao, has raised the consciousness of hundreds of millions of people in combating and preventing revisionism, promoted stability and unity throughout the country, and developed the excellent situation. In a small number of comparatively backward areas and units revolution and production have improved, keeping pace with the victorious advance of the whole country. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more consolidated than ever.

We have won great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Further realization of stability and unity reflects the needs in the development of the current situation and gives expression to the common aspirations of the revolutionary masses of people. In the past, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao pursued the revisionist line and plotted to split the Party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, restore capitalism, and undermine the nation's stability and unity. Through protracted struggle, we have destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has been more deeply rooted in the public mind. The masses have more firmly grasped the three basic principles: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." This has created very favorable conditions for the nation's stability and unity. Now the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have united more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The centralized leadership of the Party has been strengthened and leading groups combining the old, the middle-aged and young have been built or reinforced at all levels. The Party's proletarian policies have been further implemented and the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is being better fulfilled in basic units on all fronts. Such a political situation in which stability and unity are founded on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is conducive to deepening the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the economic base, to further criticizing revisionism and to continuing to do a good job in struggle-criticism-transformation. It is conducive to better carrying out the principle "grasp revolution, promote production, other work and preparedness against war," accelerating the pace of socialist construction in our country and strengthening the material basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, speedily modernizing our agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology in an all-round way before the end of this century. All revolutionary comrades must

consider stability and unity a major issue bearing on combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, safeguard them consciously and promote them energetically.

Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat provides huge motive power for promoting stability and unity. Chairman Mao points out: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles." This is a truth which has been repeatedly proved by revolutionary practice. The 1942 Party rectification campaign, personally led by Chairman Mao, was a widespread movement of Marxist education, greatly raising the ideological and theoretical level of Party members and cadres, enabling the whole Party to achieve unprecedented unity, and laying the ideological foundation for the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan and of the War of Liberation. The current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a more profound movement of Marxist education under new historical conditions. Carrying out the current study well, persisting in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and deepening the criticism of revisionism will certainly lead to a higher consciousness of the cadres and masses in continuing the revolution, making it possible to greatly strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party and the whole people and to win greater victories in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have seen that by earnestly grasping study well, the cadres and masses in many areas have strengthened their unity, developed revolution and production and solved some problems which had defied solution for a long time. This fully shows the mighty power of Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory. Both the idea and practice which set deepening the study of theory against the promotion of stability and unity are wrong.

It is necessary for us to understand the question of dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, to understand the need to restrict, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bourgeois right involving the commodity system, exchange by means of money and distribution according work at the present stage, and to understand that the social basis engendering revisionism still exists during the period of socialism. When we understand all this in both theory and practice, we will be able to further recognize the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the line, policies, methods and steps for accomplishing these tasks. The revolutionary objective for our unity will become clearer, the cadres and the masses will act in concert in fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the ideological basis for unity will become still more solid. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Capitalist tendencies in both urban and rural areas and the bourgeois style of life among a number of people are damaging to state planning, to the policies and principles

of our Party, and to the socialist relations among people. The existence of these things is detrimental to stability and unity. We must, through studying the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry out ideological education to enable people to fully recognize the danger of these things to revolution and construction, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to stability and unity, and take steps to resist and overcome it.

It is essential to encourage consideration for the interests of the whole in developing the excellent situation of stability and unity. Chairman Mao points out: "We should encourage comrades to take the the interests of the whole into account. Every Party member, every branch of work, every statement and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole Party. It is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle." To consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat is in the interest of the whole, in the interest of the entire Party. All our statements and actions should be based on this and should help to consolidate rather than weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bourgeois factionalism is shown in ignoring the interests of the whole to the detriment of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should, through studying the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry out education in ideology and political line and in the proletarian Party spirit, and take active and effective measures to overcome bourgeois factionalism.

Strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party and cementing the revolutionary unity of leading groups at all levels is an important key to consolidating and enhancing the excellent situation of stability and unity. Only by achieving unity within Party committees at all levels and strengthening the Party's centralized leadership can we correctly implement the line, principles and policies of the Party, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, bring about and enhance a political situation of stability and unity. This has been shown by the experiences of various localities. Without the unity and solidarity of Party committees at all levels based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it will be impossible to lead the masses to achieve revolutionary unity and to work and fight for the common revolutionary goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, in the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should persistently uphold the Party's democratic centralism and oppose the erroneous tendencies to weaken the centralized and unified leadership of the Party, to go one's own separate way, and to claim independence from the Party. In order to practice democratic centralism, it is necessary to abide by revolutionary discipline. Revolutionary discipline insures adherence to the correct line and is essential to achieving stability and unity and to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao points out: "It is necessary to educate the fighters, the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the people in the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention." We should continue such education so that the cadres and the masses can proceed from the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat to safeguard the Party's centralized leadership,

consciously abide by revolutionary discipline and resolutely oppose those erroneous tendencies of weakening Party leadership and undermining revolutionary discipline.

In studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should link our study with actual conditions and seriously analyze the situation in our areas and units, seeing not only the favorable aspects of the main trend but also the negative factors which may exist and adversely affect stability and unity. In dealing with these factors, we should act according to the Party's line, principles and policies, uphold the Party's principles, and make a concrete analysis of different situations on the basis of investigation and study. All problems among the people should be solved mainly through education. By stability, we mean stability based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. By unity, we mean unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Such stability and unity are achieved through struggle and can be consolidated and developed only through struggle. Stability and unity do not mean that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are "at peace with each other." On the contrary, stability and unity are predicated on exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This requires us to use the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a weapon to analyze and resolve contradictions, to penetratingly criticize the revisionist line, capitalist tendencies and the bourgeois world outlook, and to struggle against all phenomena affecting and undermining stability and unity.

To do a good job in promoting stability and unity, we should correctly distinguish between and handle the two different types of contradictions. The class enemies at home and abroad are extremely afraid of our stability and unity. Under the situation in which socialist revolution is deepening with each passing day, they always attempt to disturb the political power of the proletariat and social order and confuse people's thinking so as to fish in troubled waters and seize an opportunity to carry out counter-revolutionary sabotage. To maintain and promote stability and unity, we should bring the might of the dictatorship of the proletariat into full play and deal steady, accurate and hard blows at the handful of class enemies with the emphasis on accuracy. In dealing with the contradictions among the people and the capitalist influence existing among the cadres and masses, we should do more ideological and political work, put the facts on the table, reason things out, and solve the problems according to the "unity, criticism, unity" formula in order to unite the 95 percent of the cadres and masses. "Unite for one purpose: The consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school." While studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, all Communists and all revolutionary comrades must bear firmly in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's and consciously strive to promote stability and unity and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the country.

* * *

Study of Marxism Requires Protracted Efforts

by

Li Chün (李鈞)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Guided by Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, the whole Party, the whole army and the people throughout the country have shown more enthusiasm for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The movement to study theory has gained momentum. This has led people to gradually deepen their understanding of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the plane of integrating theory with practice, and given considerable impetus to work on all fronts, thereby enhancing stability and unity throughout the country. This is a good sign. But many years are required to gradually raise one's level of Marxism. Quick results cannot be gained. To gain really greater results in study, we must make persistent and prolonged efforts.

Chairman Mao points out: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Our purpose of studying Marxism is to solve the fundamental question of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat on the plane of integrating theory with practice. Throughout the entire historical period of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist. As a reflection of class struggle, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism in the ideological and political realm will also go on for a long time. Therefore, studying Marxism and applying it as a sharp weapon for discerning and combating revisionism in the struggle against revisionism, including empiricism and dogmatism, is a long-term task. Marxism has developed through continuing struggle against revisionism. Likewise, Marxism can be truly mastered only through prolonged struggle against revisionism. We must persevere in studying the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, study and apply them in struggle, and constantly sum up our experience in study and struggle so as to gradually raise our Marxist level.

Studying Marxism is not purely for the sake of studying alone, nor for the purpose of studying certain terms of Marxism, but for the purpose of meeting the requirement of revolutionary practice. In other words, we must learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to concretely study and solve practical problems in socialist revolution and construction. Works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao are very rich in content and profound in meaning. It is impossible to really read some books and grasp some Marxist principles without making serious and painstaking efforts. Even if we have read some Marxist books, we may not necessarily master Marxism, for there is still the question of applying it to actual conditions. Success in study will come and the demands be met only after we are able to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to explain and solve some practical problems arising from the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle,

the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It is obviously impossible to meet such demands of study for integrating theory with practice without making prolonged and arduous efforts. Some comrades tend to think that they have mastered Marxism after studying it for a few days or a certain period of time. But when they put the theory they have learned to practical use, they are still unable to explain many problems scientifically or solve them correctly. Practice is the criterion for testing truth. If we cannot put to practical use what we have learned, that proves that we have not yet mastered it, and we must exert efforts and persist in studying it again. If we stop studying after making some initial gains, we shall never be able to master Marxism and apply it. In learning Marxist theory, we must undergo a process from knowing nothing about it to knowing something about it, from knowing a little about it to knowing more about it, and from not knowing how to apply it to knowing how to apply it. An important condition for this transformation is painstaking study.

In the course of the struggle to change society and nature with Marxism, correct knowledge often cannot be arrived at by a single attempt. "More often than not, it is only after repeated failures that we can correct a wrong idea and make it conform to the laws of objective process, and it is only then that we can turn subjective things into objective things, that is, achieve the anticipated results in the course of practice." In studying Marxism, a protracted and repeated process is also required to genuinely achieve integration of theory with practice. There is no gain without pain. Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang advocated the theory that knowledge "can be gained by a single attempt" and Lin Piao and company also trumpeted that "quick results can be obtained" in study. All these fallacies are directly opposed to the Marxist theory of knowledge, and are very harmful to our study. If we fail to understand the laws of knowledge on the problem of study, we will either regard study as a simple task or think that "immediate thirst cannot be quenched by distant water" when we achieve little notable success in study, and then relax our study efforts. Hence, any impetuous feeling is harmful to protracted and persistent study of Marxism.

We must further see that with the development of practical struggle, we will continue to face new problems. Therefore, we must study and improve ourselves incessantly and stick to the principle of integrating theory with practice. Under no circumstances should we rest content with certain achievements we have made by integrating theory with practice today and give up our efforts tomorrow. Since a movement keeps on developing in a forward direction, so our knowledge of it should develop with it. "Marxism-Leninism does not bring an end to truth; it continues to open new roads to knowing it in practice." To meet the needs of revolution and to continue to know objective truth, we must unceasingly study Marxism by integrating theory with practice and engage in lifelong revolution and lifelong study. "Marxism-Leninism is a science." To learn something from it, we must adopt a respectful and conscientious attitude, and there is no "shortcut." The method of "shortcut," as advocated by Lin Piao, is out-and-out subjective idealist stuff essentially designed to disrupt and oppose our study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must continue to wipe out its pernicious influence.

In order to develop the revolutionary style of study that integrates theory with practice and in order to persist in protracted study of Marxism, it is necessary to do so through education and study and, in the course of criticizing revisionism, to gradually overcome the two erroneous ideological tendencies--empiricism and dogmatism. Though differing in manifestation, empiricism and dogmatism are identical in revising Marxism and ignoring integration of theory with practice. Chairman Mao points out: "There are two kinds of subjectivism in our Party: one is dogmatism, the other empiricism. Each sees only a part and not the whole." Dogmatists are content with some knowledge they have learned from books without using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method seriously to conduct investigation and study and to analyze or solve all sorts of specific problems in the Chinese revolution. It seems that with book knowledge, one can "surely cure all diseases" without effort and need not study any more. Empiricists are content with partial experience they have gained, regard it as a universal truth, and do not want to study. Therefore, both empiricism and dogmatism are conservative and indifferent to progress, lacking in the spirit of studying untiringly. Today, socialism is advancing victoriously everywhere, the situation is changing rapidly, new things are emerging continuously, and new problems are also incessantly cropping up. As Chairman Mao has said: "To adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study. Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying, have to absorb what is new and study new problems." We must strive to have a good grasp of Marxism while persistently studying Marxism on a long-term basis, and in the course of accepting new things and studying new problems.

Here, we have explained why the study of Marxism is a long-term task which cannot be accomplished rashly. But does this mean that we can take our time and take it easy? Certainly not. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." He also pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus it will be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power. Therefore, we should read more Marxist-Leninist works." Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has once more educated us to conscientiously study Marxism and to understand the question of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie on the plane of combining theory with practice. This is of tremendous current significance and far-reaching historical importance for combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and insuring that our Party and state will never change color nor turn revisionist. Theory is the ideological basis of the line and policy, the guide to revolutionary action. Only by mastering Marxist theory and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat can we correctly implement Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line and policies and solve all kinds of problems well and can we effectively combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It can be seen that in calling for persistent and protracted study of Marxism, it does not imply in the slightest that effort may be relaxed; on the contrary, more arduous and tireless efforts must be made. On the problem of study, we must also display and maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed during the period of revolutionary war, and achieve still greater results in study.

* * *

Study Theory Well, Carry Out Policy

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程越)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Since Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of theory was published, the mass movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been gradually deepening throughout the country. Through study, the vast numbers of cadres and the masses have increased their understanding of the Party's basic line, raised their consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism and carrying out the various proletarian policies of the Party, and developed the various revolutionary undertakings more vigorously.

Chairman Mao points out: "A revolutionary party is carrying out a policy whenever it takes any action. If it is not carrying out a correct policy, it is carrying out a wrong policy; if it is not carrying out a given policy consciously, it is doing so blindly." The policies of our Party at the present stage are correct as they are formulated according to the Party's basic line and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. However, to raise our consciousness of carrying out a policy and lessen the chance of doing so blindly, we must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by studying theory well can we "more clearly recognize our aim of struggle, advance in the fixed direction with greater resolve, and more reliably win and consolidate our victories." Otherwise, we shall not be able to understand why we should have this policy and not that policy, nor can we make clear the connection between the Party's policies and its basic line and the relations between carrying out a given policy and restricting bourgeois right. In consequence, we can in no way adhere to the correct political orientation or carry out a given policy properly.

Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Restricting bourgeois right is basically consistent with carrying out the Party's policies. Socialist society represents a historical phase in which rages the struggle between growing communism and decaying capitalism. In this historical stage, on the one hand, socialist new things are developing and expanding step by step in the course of socialist revolution; on the other hand, there inevitably exist the birthmarks of the old society, from whose womb socialist society emerges, in the political, economic, cultural and other fields, and these can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The policies of the Party are formulated in the light of its basic line and prevailing concrete circumstances and, as such, cannot but reflect this historical characteristic. For instance, some of our economic policies are intended to recognize as well as appropriately restrict that part of bourgeois right which exists in the historical stage of socialism with

the aim of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and insuring the triumph of socialism over capitalism. If we forget this general aim and the Party's basic line, if we see only the aspect of allowing bourgeois right to exist and not the aspect of restricting it or even go to the extent of extending it, we will commit Rightist mistakes. Of course, we cannot reverse this either. If we see only the aspect of restricting it and not the aspect of allowing it to exist, if we want to abolish bourgeois right once and for all in one morning, we will commit "Left" errors. Both cases are detrimental to the correct implementation of the Party's policies, and hence to the development and expansion of socialism and the resistance against and opposition to capitalism.

Any act which goes against Marxism and promotes revisionism, and any act which opposes taking the socialist road and approves of taking the capitalist road, goes against the Party's basic line and policies. Extending bourgeois right and encouraging the growth of capitalist tendencies is incompatible with Chairman Mao's policy on restricting bourgeois right and resisting capitalist tendencies. For instance, in the name of cooperation, enterprises practice barter or even blackmail and extortion in violation of state plans. Within an enterprise, "material incentives" are practiced instead of putting politics in command. In the countryside, free planting and free trade are promoted and handicraft industry, private sideline occupations, etc., are developed in violation of state plans and regulations. All these go against policies. As regards corruption and theft, speculation and manipulation, and exploitation of wage labor,these are of course even more intolerable. We must display the might of proletarian policies and restrict, rectify and overcome these capitalist tendencies and activities.

Certain policy problems need to be defined according to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For instance, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" is a principle for the distribution of articles of consumption at the historical stage of socialism, and it is also a basic economic policy. Owing to the fact that the three major differences exist, social production has not yet reached the degree of abundance and the majority of people have not raised their communist consciousness considerably, this principle will still have to be adopted for a fairly long time to come and it is still necessary to admit the differences in income from labor. However, equal right here in principle is still bourgeois right and must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both politically and ideologically, we must persist in putting proletarian politics in command, promote the communist attitude toward labor, criticize revisionism, and oppose "material incentives" and "work points in command." In the matter of policy, we must correctly handle the three-way relationship between the state, the collective and the individual, oppose extending the differences, and prevent new polarity. Take another example. According to the working regulations of rural people's communes, provided that the collective economy is actively developed and is not hindered and its absolute superiority is assured, commune members are allowed to keep small private plots and undertake family sideline production.

This is also necessary at the present stage. However, both politically and ideologically, we must constantly educate the peasants in socialist and communist ideas, urging them to devote themselves to the collective and to the revolution, to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the state and the collective, as shown by "Ode to the Dragon River" and other works. In the matter of policy, we must restrict private plots and family sideline production to the limits allowed by the policy, and will not allow anyone to seize collective farmland at will to expand his private plot. Neither do we allow anyone to abolish the private plot at will if it conforms to policy regulations.

Some comrades are not clear about how things permitted by policy should be restricted in a definite scope. They like simple methods for doing things: Either you have it all or dispense with it all. This is because they have not yet really understood the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their heads are devoid of dialectics. As a matter of fact, both at the stage of the democratic revolution and that of the socialist revolution, we have had problems of restricting in a definite scope things that were allowed by policy. For instance, during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party adopted a dual policy of "alliance" and "struggle" toward all landlords and capitalists who did not oppose our resistance against Japan. At that time, Chairman Mao stated: "The Chinese Communist Party works in a complex environment, and every Party member, cadre in particular, must train himself into a fighter who understands Marxist tactics. If we look at problems onesidedly and in a simplistic way, we cannot lead the revolution to victory." At the stage of socialist revolution, before the socialist transformation of the system of ownership was completed, we adopted the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming national capital, utilizing its aspect which was favorable to national welfare and people's livelihood, restricting its aspect which was harmful to national welfare and people's livelihood, and taking systematic steps to transform it along socialist lines. These experiences are very precious for us today in our struggle against capitalist restoration and to limit bourgeois right.

For correct implementation of the Party's policies, we must also expand communist propaganda and continue to criticize the idea of bourgeois right. Way back to the stage of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao had taught us, saying: "We should expand the propaganda on communist ideas and step up our study of Marxism-Leninism. Without such propaganda and study, we can neither lead the Chinese revolution onto the future socialist stage nor lead the present democratic revolution to victory." If it was necessary to expand propaganda on communist ideas in the period of democratic revolution, this is even truer for the period of socialist revolution! Although bourgeois right is inevitable in the historical period of socialism, yet, as communists, we must persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, restrict bourgeois right, and gradually create the conditions for its eventual abolition after a fairly long period of time.

Therefore, we must educate the cadres and the masses in communist ideas, display the communist spirit, and unceasingly criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie and the idea of bourgeois right. Provided that we separate the propaganda on the communist ideological system and social system from the practice of present policies, such propaganda and education will not only not come into conflict with the present policies but will facilitate their execution.

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party; leading comrades at all levels must give them full attention and must never on any account be negligent." The Party's policies are centralized in the Party Central Committee and must not be changed at will. No one is allowed to use them to satisfy his own needs and to do things in his own way. When partial adjustments have to be made in light of changing circumstances, these must be handled with prudence, and such problems must be solved in a unified way on the basis of making the theory clear and properly conducted investigations and study. We must seriously read and study, study well Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, and understand why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Moreover, we must go out and among the masses to make investigations and study, identify and foster socialist new things and make Marxist analysis of problems existing in reality. In this way, we may link the execution of policies with the restriction of bourgeois right and further strengthen all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

* * *

Strengthen Education Among Young People

by

Chiang Hung (江虹)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 1, June 1, 1975)

Strengthening education among young people and training them into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is a strategic task of our Party throughout the historical period of socialism in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao attaches immense importance to the education and training of young people, showing concern for their growth and actively supporting the proletarian revolutionary spirit they display in socialist revolution and construction. Chairman Mao says: "In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their color, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution." Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has served as additional guidance for us to strengthen education among the young people. The young people of our country shoulder the heavy burden of carrying on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is they who will inherit the cause of proletarian revolution initiated by the older generation. Whether they will practice Marxism or revisionism in the future is a very important question bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and State. If we are to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration, carry the socialist revolution through to the end, and gradually realize the historical task of thoroughly eliminating classes, we must strengthen education and training of young people, turning them into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and brought up and educated by the Party, China's young people are growing up steadily. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have incessantly raised their awareness of class and line struggles. A great change has taken place in their mentality. They are assiduously studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, conscientiously studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, actively criticizing revisionism, and participating in struggle-criticism-transformation in the realm of the superstructure and in socialist construction, thus becoming an important force for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Responding to Chairman Mao's great call, millions of educated young people have plunged into the three great revolutionary movements by settling in the countryside and mountainous areas. This is of far-reaching significance in narrowing the three major differences and in restricting bourgeois

right. Large numbers of outstanding young people have emerged on the various fronts of socialist revolution and construction to become models for all other young people to emulate. Our country's young people, in high spirits and full of militancy, are very promising indeed. We have successors to our proletarian revolutionary cause.

Meanwhile, we must also see that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to win over young people is still long and fierce. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, the bourgeoisie will use all means and devices to corrupt young people. Therefore, strengthening their education is a protracted and arduous task. It will not take just one or two generations to defeat capitalism with socialism and finally realize communism throughout the world. This task can only be completed with the persistent efforts of several generations. At no time should we neglect the education of young people, and we must carry it on perseveringly.

Under socialist conditions the struggle goes on between growing communism and declining capitalism. All young people living in our society face this question: Should they stand on the side of the proletariat, actively support and develop communist things with their practical action, and become succesors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, or should they stand on the side of the bourgeoisie, enjoy and go after the decaying capitalist things and become sacrifical objects to be buried with capitalism? In strengthening the young peoples' education, we aim at enabling them to make the correct choice and take the road of proletarian revolution, instead of being won over by the bourgeoisie.

Do we often say that young people "were born in the new society and grow up under the red flag"? Although this remark reflects the actual situation, it should still be analyzed with the viewpoint of one dividing into two. It is no doubt something fortunate for young people to be born in the new society. That they receive revolutionary education from childhood and have not carried any dirty things from the old society is a condition highly conducive to their healthy growth. But they have their weaknesses too. Being born in the new society does not mean that they are completely free from contact with things of the old society. Nor does growing up under the red flag mean that they are educated only in proletarian ideology. For our socialist society has just emerged from the old society and therefore in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, is still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society. Classes and class struggle still exist for a long time in socialist society. Chairman Mao points out: "In short, China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was more or less like a capitalist society. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange by means of money, which are scarely different from those in the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." Chairman Mao also points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so on. These can only be restricted under the

dictatorship of the proletariat." This clearly tells us that the remnants of the old society are still found in the new society. Young people come into contact with remnants of the old society every day, and these are breeding grounds for capitalism. As they have never experienced hardships in the old society, young people are not good at comparing old China with new China. Therefore, some of them who have relatively weak resistance can easily be corrupted and attacked by these old things. The class enemies often attack them by seizing on this weakness. Speaking of new bourgeois elements, Lenin said: "The old generation has been swept away, but new generations may still emerge on this soil." In socialist society the phenomenon of poisonous weeds thriving on old soil is not at all strange. Is it not true that a handful of young people have been misled by the remnants of the old society into going after commodities and money, and indulging in a comfortable and pleasurable life, and, unwilling to settle in the countryside, have associated themselves with some bad people, thus embarking on the evil road and even becoming criminals? This deserves our attention.

To train young people into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, we must strengthen education among them in the light of current class and line struggles helping them to correctly discern and deal with the remnants of the old society. We must make them understand that it is an inexorable law of social development that the proletariat will triumph over the bourgeoisie and socialism over capitalism. "In the world the old is always replaced by the new, and the new will always emerge through the weeding not of the old." These things left over from the old society will eventually be destroyed. The commodity system, exchange through money, and distribution according to work, etc. cannot be abolished at the present stage, but their negative effects must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revolutionary young people should place strict demands on themselves politically, economically and ideologically. They should draw a clear line of demarcation with the remnants of the old society. They should be promoters in restricting these things, instead of using them to seek personal benefits. The communist spirit is now growing thrivingly among the vast numbers of young people. Studying arduously and working hard, many of them actively fight against the idea of bourgeois right and old traditional concepts and have taken a clear-cut stand in opposing and resisting the bourgeois lifestyle. They have been praised for this. We should warmly encourage and actively support such advanced young people, sum up their experience, propagate their deeds, and lead other young people to learn from them. This should be the main aspect of the work of educating the youngsters. It is only by carrying out positive education and commending the advanced that we can grasp the main current and lead the great majority. Even in the case of those young people who have been afflicted more seriously by the plague, ulcer and contagions of the old society, most of them can be changed, and we must conduct penetrating and meticulous ideological education to help them improve.

Strengthening education among young people is an important matter of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In order to undermine our socialist cause, the overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie and newly engendered bourgeois elements will invariably try by every means to attack the young people with the various traces

left behind by the old society. Judging from the lessons of a small number of young people who have gone astray or even committed crimes, this cannot be separated from the fact that they have been wooed, corrupted and poisoned by the class enemies. The class enemies often pretend to be "concerned" and "sympathetic," and use the extravagant bourgeois way of life to lure the youngsters, poisoning them with bourgeois ideas, including bad books, bad operas, bad stories and bag songs, corrupting them with money and beautiful girls, and instigating them to feel dissatisfied with the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of embellishing capitalism. Owing to their lack of experience in class struggle, some young people even take these enemies for "bosom friends" and poison for honey. Can we ignore the class enemies' unbridled attacks on the young people? If we do not firmly grasp young people's education, do we not allow the class enemies to do what they want? Does that mean handing some young people to the bourgeoisie? If we let the class enemies woo, corrupt and poison the young people and let those filthy and indecent things left behind by the old society spread among the young people, how can we speak of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? All those who are truly concerned with the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and all revolutionaries who persistently practice Marxism and not revisionism cannot but pay attention to the training and education of young people. We must fully recognize the importance of strengthening young people's education on the plane of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and consciously do well in this respect.

In order to grasp young people's education well, it is necessary to deepen the criticism of revisionism and deal relentless blows to the abettors. Why is it that some young people relish and chase after bourgeois things, and when a handful of class enemies in society use these things to attack them, they have little or no resistance? Besides their lack of experience in class struggle, the most fundamental reason is still that they are poisoned by the revisionist line and in their heads there are nothing but bourgeois ideas. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the two chieftains of the revisionist line, exerted every effort to safeguard old things and oppose new socialist things, representing nothing but the interests of the overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists as well as newly engendered bourgeois elements in the country. Their revisionist fallacies are corrosives for the vast numbers of young people. Lin Piao babbled that "material incentives are still needed" and that "selfish desires are natural," brazenly clamoring for "official appointments, emoluments, favors" to entice people to take the capitalist road. They preached the "theory of going to school in order to become an official," slandered the settling of educated youth in the countryside as "disguised reform through labor," and opposed young people taking the road of integrating with workers and peasants. And so on and so forth. Their vicious aim was to make young people go astray and turn them into tools with which to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Some abettors in society regard the revisionist sinister trash of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as treasure and use it to poison the young people and instigate some people to commit crimes. Some young people have been so deceived that they have taken the rotten and stinking for the sweet and the bad for the good, and

this thanks to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Both Liu and Lin were the biggest political abettors. As regards abettors in society, it is necessary to fully mobilize the masses to expose and criticize them. This work should be further grasped. At the same time, it is necessary to deepen criticism of the revisionist line. An attack on abettors in society should be linked with the criticism of the revisionist line in order to enable the vast numbers of young people to further recognize the reactionary essence of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and wipe out its pernicious influence through the exposure and criticism of the criminal acts of abettors in society. It is only by continuing to deepen the criticism of revisionism and heightening the young people's awareness of the line to distinguish Marxism from revisionism and socialism from capitalism that we can lead them to march forward along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Influenced by the revisionist line, some of our comrades have fairly serious bourgeois ideas in their heads. Instead of educating the younger generation with proletarian ideas, they have consciously or unconsciously instilled bourgeois ideas into the minds of the youngsters. Such a phenomenon has to be resolutely rectified. For example, instead of urging their sons and daughters to take the road of integrating with workers and peasants, some people have tried by various means to find "a way out" for them, and some have even prevented their children from going to the countryside. Such an approach not only makes a revolutionary lose his color but also has considerable corrosive effects on his children. That some youngsters have become bourgeois-minded and have even committed mistakes is often inseparable from the influence of their parents. Attention must be paid to summing up experience and lessons in this respect while stepping up education among the youth.

The most fundamental thing in strengthening education among youngsters is to organize and guide them to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to gradually establish the communist world outlook. Young people are in a period of physical and intellectual growth, and also in an important period of forming their world outlook. They are most eager to learn and the least conservative. They are enthusiastic in looking after socialist new things and are readily responsive to revolutionary truth. Thus, helping them to form the habit of reading and study from childhood, to understand something about Marxism and to learn gradually to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze and handle problems will affect in a significant way the formation of their proletarian world outlook. Assiduously studying the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao is a long-term task. To the vast numbers of youngsters, this is a lifetime task. Lenin pointed out: "In a certain sense it may be said that the task of building the communist society rests on the shoulders of our youths." We must guide the youngsters to persevere in reading and studying to get a clear idea of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the laws of social development and the historical tasks of the proletariat, to firmly set up noble communist ideals, and strive to narrow the three major differences and abolish classes.

In discussing the education of intellectuals and students, Chairman Mao says: "All departments and organizations should bear their responsibilities for ideological and political work. It should be done by the Communist Party, the Youth League, and government departments, and, to a greater extent, by principals and teachers of schools." The proletariat and the masses of people should be mobilized under the leadership of the Party to take care of educational work among youngsters, for only in this way can it be done well. Party committees at all levels should earnestly strengthen their leadership over youth work, regard it as an important task to be grasped, and spare no effort in doing so. The CYL is an adjunct to the Party, serving as a bridge and link between the Party and youths. Under the leadership of the Party, it should bring into full play its hardcore role in uniting and educating youths. Comrades working in schools must be loyal to the Party's educational cause, always give first priority to the ideological transformation of students, and turn the school into a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cultural and publishing departments as well as motion picture studios must provide the youths with more spiritual food by constantly publishing and producing some books, magazines and films suitable to the youths. Revolutionary parents must pay constant attention to educating their sons and daughters in proletarian ideology, teaching by words as well as by deeds. Particularly, Party members and cadres, including leading cadres, must all the more take the lead in doing so. All fronts, all departments, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals should regard educating youths as their own business and do it together. With families, schools and society closely cooperating with one another it will be possible to do even better the work of educating the youths.

Way back to the early days of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao had pointed out: "New China must care for her youth and show concern for their growth." We must further strengthen the education of youths in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's, and strive to bring up millions and millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat with a view to combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and fulfilling the historical tasks of socialist revolution.

* * *

Exchange Through Money and Current Class Struggle

by

Hsia Li-chih (夏力之)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Recently Chairman Mao profoundly pointed out: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." To seriously study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and to understand both in theory and practice why bourgeois right in respect to exchange through money can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat--this is one of the important problems in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our country has in the main completed socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production. Banks have been placed in the hands of the state of proletarian dictatorship, and the issue and management of a unified currency have turned it into a tool for socialist revolution and construction. It has played and is continuing to play a positive role in expanding the interflow of materials between town and country, in consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, in implementing the principle of distribution according to work and serving the vast masses, and in state management of social production and distribution. However, we should also see that exchange through money under the socialist system is still a birthmark of the old society. Lenin said: "Money is a remnant of yesterday's exploitation." The existence of exchange through money furnishes soil for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. If we do not see this and do not understand why it has to be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will not be able to tell right from wrong regarding the line and may even lose our bearings.

We know that money came into being with the development of commodity production and commodity exchange. The occasional commodity exchanges that took place initially took the form of barter. Then commodity exchange gradually expanded with the division of labor and the development of production and took place on a regular basis. By this time, barter could no longer satisfy the varied needs of producers. And so, a special commodity was separated from the commodities. "The value of all other commodities can be perpetually expressed by this commodity, which is regarded as the direct expression of social labor and can be directly and unconditionally exchanged for all commodities. This commodity is money." As a general equivalent, money has five functions--the measure of value, means of circulation, means of payment, means of safekeeping, and an international currency. In capitalist society where the commodity economy has been highly developed, the functions of money have been brought into full play. "Thus money has

become the main force everywhere." Even "things which are not commodities in themselves such as conscience and reputation may be used by their owners to exchange for money." The relations between men have become "the callous relations of 'cash payment'."

In socialist society, socialist public ownership of the means of production has replaced private ownership. Workers and the masses of toilers in general have become masters of society. Money no longer predominates over everything. However, money remains a general equivalent, and its basic functions still exist. The principle of exchange through money is still exchange between equal values. Whoever has more money can own more commodities. As Lenin said: "Until money is abolished, equality can only exist in words or in constitution." Equal right as expressed by the principle of exchange through money at equal values is still a bourgeois right which is equal in form but unequal in fact.

As long as exchange through money exists, there is room for the existence of such bourgeois ideas as seeking money and personal profits. Both old and new bourgeois elements may also try hard to use money to induce those weak-willed revolutionaries to "go into the water." And those who are corrupted by bourgeois ideology, in order to own more money and commodities and satisfy their desire for a comfortable living, will seek to grab large amounts of money to line their pockets through certain legal and illegal channels. If we fail to restrict and struggle against such possible occurrences, capitalist ideas will become rampant, giving rise to new bourgeois elements.

Our laws prohibit all activities of exploitation. Under the socialist system it is unlawful to use money to purchase labor, to possess means of production, and to extract surplus value to make more money. However, the old bourgeoisie, unreconciled to its defeat, is still around, new bourgeois elements are being continuously engendered, and in those links and units where the dictatorship of the proletariat is not yet consolidated and even the leadership is still not in the hands of the proletariat they may still "use the still privately-owned paper money, this instrument which entitles the exploiters to obtain social wealth, to engage in speculations, amass a fortune and plunder the laborers." In the period of socialism, we still have to use money as a medium for exchange between industrial and agricultural products and for distribution of consumer goods. This provides a possibility, namely, we may buy today and sell tomorrow, and buy here and sell there. Speculators will thus turn the money in their private possession into commercial capital and, taking advantage of temporary and partial imbalanced supply of commodities in certain areas and during certain seasons, buy and sell farm and subsidiary produce and manufactured goods to make a huge profit. Some may even, under the cloak of "legality" and using various deceptions, fraudulently obtain money from state-operated and collectives units to open underground factories or organize underground teams to contract for jobs in order to

practice exploitation of hired labor in a disguised form. Others may stack away the money in their possession and then practice usury. In socialist society, such acts of turning money into capital are economically and politically extremely reactionary. Therefore, they must be condemned and banned resolutely.

We should also see that in a socialist country, the national economy is developed in a planned and proportional way. But due to the fact that there exists commodity production and exchange through money, we still have to use barter and currency for planned management in regard to production and distribution of enterprises. Therefore, certain contradictions still exist between use value and value, and the law of value still operates in a definite scope. This then makes it necessary to keep to the principle of giving first consideration to planning and second consideration to pricing and to restrict the role of the law of value in order to insure a planned and proportional development of the national economy. On the other hand, if an enterprise disregards the needs of the state and the people and does not fulfill its planned targets in an all-round manner according to the demands of the state but blindly expands the scope of play by the law of value, practices free management and free transactions, and one-sidedly seeks profits--if this state of affairs is allowed to develop, an enterprise will change its socialist nature and degenerate into one under capitalist private ownership.

One of the means the Soviet revisionist renegade clique uses in restoring the capitalist system in the Soviet Union is to energetically extend bourgeois rights with respect to exchange through money. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, openly advocating "material incentives" and saying that "it is highly necessary to educate people with the ruble." They have pushed a new economic system with profit motivation in command, boasting that this "new economic system has enabled the economic and social leaders to master an effective means--money." In the field of exchange, they have also effected free exchange of vital means of production, with the result that free markets have flourished everywhere. In the sphere of distribution of consumer goods, they have unlimitedly broadened the discrepancies between grades by such means as high wages, high bonuses and high payments for manuscripts, thereby causing polarity. In short, while nominally practicing a socialist planned economy, they are in fact promoting a capitalist economy. What is socialist ownership in name is actually private ownership by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class, and what is proletarian dictatorship in name is out-and-out dictatorship of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class in fact. A study of the historical lessons of how the Soviet Union has turned revisionist may enable us to better understand the reason why it is necessary to restrict bourgeois right in the field of exchange by means of money.

In China, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao in an analysis of the post-victory class struggle, pointed out that the principal contradiction inside the country was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie," and

warned us that we must learn to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the bourgeoisie. Since the founding of the People's Republic, Chairman Mao has again formulated for us the Party line and a whole set of policies and principles for socialist revolution and construction and the prevention of capitalist restoration. Over the past 25 years, the Party and the state have adopted a series of measures to restrict capitalist activities in the field of exchange through money and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state has effected planned management with regard to production and exchange of commodities, laying stress on planned development of industrial and agricultural production, planned expansion of interflow of goods between town and country, and planned increase of supply of consumer goods to both urban and rural populations. The state carries out unified allocation and forbids free transaction in vital means of production. It has also established a unified monetary system, with state banks issuing banknotes, controlling cash, credits and settlements in a unified manner. With regard to savings deposits in urban and rural areas, it has laid down a policy of "self-willingness in making deposits and freedom in making withdrawals." The state strictly prohibits the conversion of money into capital and bans usury. All these measures have been highly instrumental in consolidating and developing the socialist economy, developing socialist commodity production in a planned way, insuring normal circulation of currency in the market, and restricting the spontaneous capitalist forces.

Our effort to restrict bourgeois right with respect to exchange by means of money will surely meet with strong resistance from the landlord and bourgeois classes and their agents within the Party, people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Such a struggle for and against the restriction of bourgeois right is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the historical period of socialism.

In the field of exchange by means of money, an important characteristic of the struggle for and against restriction is that people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao try their best to exaggerate the role of money in a vain attempt to replace socialist planned economy by capitalist free market, free pricing and free competition. They try hard to put profit in command, clamoring for transforming the planned economy into something as "flexible" as private commerce and underground factories in an attempt to undermine the economic base of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed their conspiracies. However, the pernicious influence of the revisionist line has not been completely eradicated. There are still some people who are keen on putting profit in command. They confuse the demarcation line between socialist accumulation and capitalist profits in command. Putting profits in command means that proletarian politics is not placed in command, the Party's policies are not enforced, and things are not done according to state plans. It means that more is to be done when the profit is big, less will be done when the profit is small, and nothing will be done when no profit can be made. It means that the capitalist form of management system with profit as the axis is adopted. If we use these methods, we will not only

fail to provide the state with accumulation for the development of the socialist economy, but will allow capitalism to spread unchecked to the destruction of state wealth and the socialist economy. Contrariwise, it is absolutely necessary for socialist enterprises to seriously improve operations and management in line with the Party's line and policies and state plans, and, through increasing production, lowering consumption and raising labor productivity, to create more wealth for society and provide the state with greater accumulations. This is a fundamental requirement in insuring expanded socialist re-production. As Engels said, accumulation "is the most important progressive function of society." It is impossible to proceed with socialist construction if we "distribute all and eat all" without accounting and accumulation. Therefore, we must draw a clear demarcation line ideologically and wage ceaseless struggle against putting profit in command. Efforts must be made to criticize the erroneous thinking of "distribute all and eat all" without accumulation. In addition, we must watch out for people who, in the name of "cooperation," illegally procure state materials or sell those products which should be sold to the state in the free market. It is a normal practice for enterprises to sell or procure certain materials through legitimate channels and according to state regulations. However, if they go beyond the limits, run counter to the Party's policies and engage in free trade, they will upset state plans and take the wrong path.

Another characteristic of the struggle for and against restriction in the field of exchange through money is that people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao try by hook or by crook to make the "money is almighty" decadent idea and principle penetrate political life and even inner-Party life. Using money as bait they buy off and foster new bourgeois elements to serve their revisionist line in an attempt to expand their social basis for the restoration of capitalism. This is the usual trick of all old and new bourgeois elements. Although Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were overthrown, the soil that breeds capitalism is still there, and the new and old bourgeois elements will continue to use the "money is almighty" fallacy to erode our ranks. Our worker comrades say well: "The material world is always linked with money. If you don't criticize the idea of bourgeois right, it will corrupt you." Our Party has all along stressed the importance of carrying out socialist revolution in the superstructure well, strengthening education in ideology and political line, and encouraging "taking the interests of the revolution as the first life and subordinating personal interests to those of the revolution." We must persistently conduct education on communist ideas, go on criticizing the idea of bourgeois right, and firmly struggle against revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the bourgeois style of life.

At times, people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao raise some "Left" slogans, calling for the immediate abolition of commodity production and claiming that "money is useless." They acted as if they were more revolutionary than anybody else. But their aim is still to create confusion and undermine socialist revolution and construction. They merely use different tricks. It is noteworthy that recently, some

of those who accused us of stirring up the "communist" wind have also created rumors about exchange through money to interfere with the current study movement. Some of our comrades, failing to see this clearly, are worried about premature negation of exchange by means of money. We must criticize these rumors promptly and must not be taken in. We should explain the issue to those comrades who are not clear about it. Our Party has all along confirmed the need to retain commodity production and exchange by means of money during the socialist stage. As long as the two kinds of socialist public ownership exist and the system of ownership by the whole people is still incapable of producing enough products to supply a population of 800 million according to needs, commodity production and exchange by means of money will have to be retained. Whether in the case of exchange between industrial and agricultural products or in the case of distribution of consumer goods among the state, the collective and individuals and of the interchange of materials between units under collective ownership,they must not be effected on a non-compensatory basis, but only according to the principle of exchange at equal values and by means of money. Even within enterprises under the whole-people ownership, it is necessary to "establish a business accounting system" and use money, a form of value, to calculate labor consumption and operating results. As regards exchanges between enterprises, prices must also be fixed and settlements reached through the form of money. Our Party has always opposed those erroneous tendencies to prematurely negate the role of money without taking historical conditions into consideration. At present, commodities in our country are not excessive; they are not abundant enough. And in future we must still firmly keep to the policy of "developing the economy and insuring supplies" and promote the production of commodities in a planned manner. The quantity of money in circulation will increase with the development of commodity production. However, we should always remain vigilant against the danger resulting from exchange through money and continue to take proper measures to restrict it. The state bank is the organ responsible for the unified issue and management of money, the national center of credit, settlement and cash activities. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, it must do a better job in financial and monetary management and bring its role into full play in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Historical experience tells us that the struggle for and against restriction in the field of exchange through money is protracted. New and old bourgeois elements are not only now using exchange by means of money to carry out capitalist activities, but they will do so in the future. Of this we must be fully aware. Provided that we seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and, under Party leadership, rely on the masses in persistently exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and resolutely implementing the Party's basic line and policies, we shall certainly be able to smash the resistance of the class enemies, further dig away the soil engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and go on winning victories in socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

Adhere to Socialist Principle in Exchanging Commodities

- investigation report on Nanning Canned Food Plant, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

In running a socialist enterprise, we must pay attention to solving problems in the relations of production, persistently criticize capitalist tendencies, and restrict bourgeois right. This is an important aspect of properly operating an enterprise according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Nanning Canned Food Plant illustrates this problem from one angle.

A processing plant with fruit and vegetables as principal raw materials, it obtains most of its supplies from the countryside, often having direct exchange of commodities and exchange by means of money with some collectively-owned units there. In its struggle against capitalist tendencies in the relations of exchange over recent years, it has done some work and gained some results. This has given an impetus to the development of revolution and production. In 1974, compared with 1970, the output of canned foods rose by over 80 percent, the gross output value by 70 percent, and profits delivered to the state by 130 percent. Since the beginning of this year, it has overfulfilled its state plans from month to month.

In the course of handling the relations of exchange, Nanning Canned Food Plant has criticized the erroneous tendency of "free purchases" and run the raw material supply base well according to socialist principles. At one time, however, it handled the problem of raw material as purely a business problem and procured raw material regardless of where it came from, legitimately or illegitimately. When it couldn't get enough local supply, it would purchase it from other areas. By doing so, it was unable to solve the problem of raw material, getting more at one time and less at another, and material of good quality as well as bad material. For a long time, its output fell short of its designed capacity. Moreover, this gave a helping hand to such rural capitalist tendencies as "free planting" to the detriment of the socialist collective economy. The masses criticized this approach for "assisting capitalism and disrupting socialism." Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the plant through study and criticism, has raised the consciousness of line struggle on the part of cadres and workers and changed this way of doing things. It has investigations conducted in nearby rural communes and brigades which supply raw material for canning. Under the centralized leadership of the local Party committee and in line with the policy of "taking grain as the key link and seeking overall development," it holds consultations with the communes and brigades in arranging production of farm crops, so that raw material it needs is produced and procured according to plans and it is insured that both the plant and villages keep to the socialist direction. This has drawn favorable comments from workers and poor and lower-middle peasants alike. They say: "That is the way to run a socialist plant."

Yet some people say: "Plan or no plan, the important thing is to get raw material." They suggest "looking the other way" when it comes to the plant's "free purchases" and "free planting" in the villages. This is a big mistake. In running a socialist enterprise, we must put proletarian politics in command. We work hard to develop production not for the sake of production but, in the final analysis, to create conditions to make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. The Party's basic line tells us that in socialist society there still exists the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. China at present practices a commodity system, and in respect to commodity production and exchange by means of money there still exist bourgeois right and the soil and conditions engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements. In this respect, as in other aspects of the relations of production, there exist class and line struggles and the struggle for and against restriction of bourgeois right. The so-called "free purchases," which means looking at the raw material only without looking at the direction and line, will not help restrict bourgeois right, and will do good to capitalism, not socialism. Therefore, we must concern ourselves not only with whether raw material can be obtained, but also with where it comes from. If it comes from the capitalist evil road, it must not be bought and should be firmly rejected. If we allow such capitalist tendencies as "free purchases" and "free planting" to spread unchecked, opening one eye and closing the other, we will deviate from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The worker comrades say rightly that in building socialism, we must keep our two eyes wide open and only in this way can we see the direction clearly and follow the correct line.

To keep to the socialist direction, Nanning Canned Food Plant constantly conducts education in ideology and political line among cadres, workers and purchasers, with the aim of enhancing their ability to distinguish socialism from capitalism and enabling them to consciously resist the bourgeois style of life, adhere to socialist principles in the purchasing of raw material and desist from "free purchases." As for "free planting," in active cooperation with the rural Party organization, it conducts socialist education and assists the raw material producing units in making rational arrangements for the production of food grain, raw material for canning and other crops. At present, the practice of some production teams in the nearby suburbs to grow more raw material for canning than planned has been gradually overcome. It also assists some communes and brigades in the distant suburbs which lack planting experience and have not sufficiently developed a diversified economy in planting appropriately some raw-material crops for canning, besides aiding them where necessary in regard to techniques, seeds, chemical fertilizer, transportation, spraying equipment, etc. In this way, not only has raw material production been developed in a planned and proportionate manner, but the various raw material producing units have been helped in firmly carrying out the policy of "taking grain as the key link and seeking overall development" and in keeping to the socialist road.

The canned food industry places relatively higher demands on the quality of raw material. How can we obtain fine raw material? Should we

practice "material incentives" by raising the prices of raw material or should we persist in political and ideological education and correctly carry out the price policy? This is also a problem of the two-line struggle in the exchange of commodities. When it began to develop a new product, canned green jack beans, Nanning Canned Food Plant, in order to get the right raw material, raised the purchase price. This caused a lot of contradictions between the plant and production teams. To insure quality, the purchasers of the plant occupied themselves with examining the grade. Those with serious capitalist spontaneous tendencies, to sell their beans at a high price, often passed off old beans for tender beans and second-grade beans for first-grade beans. Disputes often arose over specification, grading and prices, and occupied the time of the leadership of the communes and brigades and of the plant. As a result, prices paid were very high and a great amount of effort was involved, but only 60-70 percent of the beans bought was up to the standard. Facts show that raising the purchase prices is no way to solve the problem of quality but will encourage capitalist tendencies.

In socialist society, due to the existence of commodity exchange, the law of value still has a role to play, and there is still the need to practice the policy of exchange at equal values and pricing goods according to quality. But a socialist enterprise must not make quality depend on prices; instead it must insist on putting proletarian politics in command and step up political and ideological work and socialist education. If the price factor is regarded as a lever with which to solve the quality of commodities, a plant will deviate from the socialist direction and provide conditions for capitalist activities. Lenin said: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." Blindly enlarging the role of the law of value is no way to educate, transform and lead small producers to take the socialist road with resolve. On the contrary, it will suit the habits and mentality of small producers and pave the way for capitalist activities and for the emergence of new bourgeois elements. Meanwhile, so far as a factory is concerned, it needs not just one or two kinds of new material but many kinds. And so far as a region is concerned, it has not just one or two factories but many. Solving the problem of quality of raw material by raising the prices and enlarging the role of the law of value unlimitedly will result in free competition and anarchy in industrial and agricultural production. Therefore, the negative effects of the law of value can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the door must be closed for the emergence of capitalism and new bourgeois elements.

Through unfolding revolutionary mass criticism, the plant has adjusted its line and stepped up ideological education among cadres and workers. It asks its purchasers to overcome and prevent the capitalist style of operation and in solving the problem of quality, first do a good job in political and ideological work, have faith in the determination of the poor and lower-middle peasants to take the socialist road and rely on them in improving the quality of raw material. Meanwhile, it often invites cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants of production teams and farms to the plant to attend informal meetings,

asking them to speak of their advanced experience in learning from Tachai in agriculture and propagating to them the significance of developing canned food production to socialist construction and to supporting exports. It is shown that to improve the quality of canned products so as to win honor for the socialist mother country is not only the responsibility of workers but also a glorious duty of poor and lower-middle peasants. Moreover, they are invited to inspect canned goods production in order to acquaint themselves with the quality requirements of canning. One after another, they indicated: "We farm not for fame or gain but socialism." They take the initiative to link up with the plant. According to the demand of processing, they strive to improve the strain of crops, planting and managing them with care, harvesting them in time and insuring the raw material is "fresh, tender, and fragrant." The quality of raw material for canning has been continuously improved as a result. Now, although the purchase price for green jack beans is marked lower than before, the percentage of up-to-standard canning raw material entering the plant has been raised to 98 percent. That the percentage of up-to-standard products of this plant has continued to surpass the state target over the past 10 years to reach over 99 percent is inseparable from the efforts of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and farm workers. Practice has once again shown that "political work is the lifeline of all economic work." This is an immutable truth.

To adhere to socialist principles in the exchange of commodities, we must also criticize the capitalist idea of serving oneself at the expense of others. Fruit, vegetables and other canned goods raw material are highly seasonal in character, often maturing in the same period. When in season, they are produced in plenty; otherwise, they are scarce. Contradictions often occur between supply by raw material producing units and demand by the plant. How can we solve these contradictions? In the past, the plant used to take delivery of raw material when it was needed; when it had not enough time for processing, it would delay in taking delivery. Between the plant and the raw material supply base there was often conflict of interests, with the result that raw material sometimes rotted in the fields or in the plant. This was a manifestation of the capitalist idea of operation, basically incompatible with the socialist relations between industry and agriculture. Although state-run factories and rural communes and brigades are distinguished by the system of ownership by the whole people and the system of collective ownership respectively and must still practice exchange of commodities, such exchanges are built on the basis of the socialist system of public ownership and should stand for a new-type relationship of mutual support and mutual promotion between the two laboring classes--the workers and peasants. Contradictions between supply and demand in the exchange of commodities in socialist society cannot be handled in a way that will damage the interests of the other side and widen the differences; they can be solved only on the basis of mutual assistance and development. As the workers say: "Workers and peasants belong to one family, serving the socialist state."

Through serious reading and studying, the leadership of this plant have come to understand that the plant should bear the main responsibility for any contradiction between the plant and raw material supply units. This is because the working class is the leading class, industry is the leading factor, and the plant is an enterprise owned by the whole people, and this being so, it is duty-bound to help the countryside overcome its difficulties and has not the least reason to make things difficult for others. Starting from the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading members of the plant often go with their purchasers to communes, brigades and farms to get acquainted with production conditions and help solve problems arising from raw material production. Whenever the busy season for procuring raw material sets in, the plant, with the close coordination of the countryside, will go for harvesting, transportation and processing on a crash basis. Inside the plant itself, technical innovation is vigorously developed, comprehensive utilization is promoted, and the processing capacity is raised. Every effort is made to "swallow" all raw material produced from the supply base. Over the last few years, the plant has effected more than 200 items of relatively large technical innovation, with the daily processing capacity for green jack beans raised from 91 tons to 180-odd tons, and that for pineapples from 196 tons to 240-odd tons. In the meantime, in active cooperation with farms, communes and brigades and scientific research units, it has started scientific experiments on controlling the maturity of pineapples and sowing of green jack beans seeds, lengthening the maturity period of pineapples from one season to two seasons and the picking period from some 30 days to the present 200-odd days, and the picking period of green jack beans from some 30 days to the present 100-odd days. The plant supports and is supported by the villages. Desirous of supporting industry, workers of farms and poor and lower-middle peasants of communes and brigades take the initiative to cooperate with the plant in overcoming various difficulties in an effort to insure a balanced supply of raw materials to the plant. In this way, the contradiction between over-concentrated maturity of raw material crops and the plant's inability to cope with them has been solved, and both production of raw material and the processing capacity have been increased. A lively situation marked by mutual support between industry and agriculture, by the grand unity of workers and peasants and substantial development of production has appeared.

Investigation Team of CCP Nanning
Municipal Committee

* * *

Strive to Raise One's Own Marxist-Leninist Level

- Some understanding from re-studying "Rectify the Party's Style of Work"

by

Li T'ieh (李 铁),
First Secretary, CCP Hengshui Prefectural Committee*

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

"Rectify the Party's Style of Work" is a shining document written by the great leader Chairman Mao on the occasion of the rectification campaign started in 1942. In this document, Chairman Mao stresses the utter importance of having the whole Party seriously study and truly understand Marxism-Leninism, and calls on it to study and apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to profoundly and scientifically analyze the practical problems of the Chinese revolution, to find out the laws governing its development and to carry out the revolutionary work well. It was precisely in this widespread movement of Marxist-Leninist education that the whole Party, through studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, further distinguished the correct line from the wrong one, achieved full solidarity in thinking and action and arrived at unprecedented unity, thereby assuring the victorious development of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. In the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I have re-studied this work by Chairman Mao, and felt particularly warm about it. For us to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and see to it that Marxism, not revisionism, is practiced, the most basic thing is to act on Chairman Mao's consistent teaching: "Read more Marxist-Leninist books" and gradually strive to raise our Marxist-Leninist level. As a leading cadre, it is especially important for me to take the lead in studying and applying well Marxism-Leninism--this "science leading the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to victory," and to have a good grasp of it on the plane of linking theory with practice.

Chairman Mao says: "Marxism-Leninism is the most correct, scientific and revolutionary truth, born out of and verified by objective reality." Whether or not all revolutionary people, revolutionary leading cadres in particular, can master it is a basic question bearing on what line we should follow and whether the revolutionary cause can be led to victory. This has been proved time and again by our Party's experience in its various line struggles. Looking back over the course of struggle I myself have gone through, I have the same feeling. Whenever I study Marxism-Leninism more consciously and seriously, I see things clearly, have great determination and the right methods, and am better able to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

---

* Formerly rendered as district committee (地委).

Contrariwise, once I relax my study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, and am not armed with revolutionary ideas or guided by scientific truth, I will work with a considerable degree of blindness or even fail to see the direction and tell the true from the false, and become a victim of deception. During the period the national economy was beset with temporary difficulties, Liu Shao-ch'i stirred up a gust of wind of individual farming in the countryside. As I had not properly appreciated Chairman Mao's theory concerning classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, I was unable to master the laws governing the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. At one time I followed Liu Shao-ch'i's line, objectively doing revisionism favors. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, when the Lin Piao anti-Party clique generated confusion with rumors and artifice and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, likewise, due to my low Marxist-Leninist level, I was unable to discern and resist this line and took wrong things for right things and did them. These facts show that, dedicated as I was to following Chairman Mao in making revolution, having such a desire alone was not enough. "Our naked eye is not enough, and we should seek the help of the telescope and microscope. The Marxist method is the telescope and microscope in political and military matters." If we do not use Marxism to analyze problems and guide our practice, we are bound to depart from the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the sharp and complex struggle. As Chairman Mao points out profoundly: "Some of our high-level cadres have different languages on problems of basic Marxist-Leninist theory, and the reason is that they have not studied enough." We should bear firmly in mind this summing-up of prolonged revolutionary practice and strive to study, study, and again study.

It is indeed true that we, who have engaged in practical work for many years, have grasped some conditions, become skilled in doing some work, and accumulated some experience. This is helpful in studying and applying Marxism well. But if we are to rest content with this and do not elevate these practical things to the level of theory, we still cannot truly understand these realities. For instance, born and raised in the countryside and having worked in the countryside for a long time, I have not really understood it. Although I have often got in touch with peasants, I have not really understood them. I have seen the "birthmarks" of the old society every day, and yet I have not really comprehended the essence of these "birthmarks." Though living every day in the environment of the acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, I have not really made clear the question of "why Lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie." This goes to show that perception only solves the problem of phenomenon and it is only theory that can solve the problem of essence. We may not understand at once things which we perceive, and it is only when we understand them that we can perceive them more deeply. Without studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well, it is not easy to make clear why and how all-round dictatorship should be imposed on the bourgeoisie. Without studying some Marxist philosophy and political economy, we cannot better understand the conflict as well as harmony between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society, nor can we understand why bourgeois

right unavoidably exists and yet must be restricted, why it is impossible to abolish the commodity system, exchange through money and distribution according to work and yet it is necessary to prevent the emergence of capitalism and new bourgeois elements, and so on. Therefore, we cannot have blind faith in our own perceptual knowledge and partial experience; instead, we should seriously study theory and guide revolutionary practice with revolutionary theory.

In "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Chairman Mao points out: "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it. If you can apply the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint in elucidating one or two practical problems, you should be commended and credited with some achievement. The more problems you elucidate and the more comprehensively and profoundly you do so, the greater will be your achievement." From my own study over the past several years, I have realized that mastery is inseparable from application, and that only after you have mastered the theory can you really grasp the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and turn them into a sharp weapon with which to grasp the essence of things and bring about their transformation in order to achieve the aim of the revolution. It is only when you study in the course of continuously applying what you have learned that you can deepen your study and help yourself master theory and the spirit and substance of Marxism-Leninism. Integration of theory and practice is a consistent ideological principle of our Party, and one of the attributes that distinguishes the Communist Party from other political parties. Whether or not we persist in linking theory with reality is essentially a question of attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and toward revolutionary work. Chairman Mao once sharply criticized those who regarded Marxism-Leninism as a dogma and who talked about "linking" every day while actually practicing "separation." He pointed out: "The arrow of Marxism-Leninism must be used to shoot at the target of the Chinese revolution. Unless this point is made clear, the theoretical level of our Party can never be raised and the Chinese revolution can never be victorious." Even if we comrades who are engaged in practical work every day have learned something about theory, we may not necessarily be able to achieve integration of theory with reality, and we must constantly guard ourselves against the tendency to confine ourselves to books and against dogmatist mistakes. As I recall my own study, I myself have not been highly conscious of the need to implement this policy of linking theory with reality. Although I have read some Marxist-Leninist works, I have not exerted myself in linking theory with practice, being incapable of applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to correctly answer problems arising from socialist revolution and construction in our own region. As a result, though books have been read, problems remain. The results of study are insignificant.

In linking theory with reality, one must also strive to transform one's world outlook in the light of one's state of mind. When studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must take into careful consideration the actual frame of mind of cadres, particularly

leading cadres, for instance, the problem of the bourgeois style of life. Some comrades among our Prefectural Party Committee's leading cadres, while finding it comparatively easy to tackle the problems of others, find themselves confronted with all sorts of ideological obstacles and resistance once they try to solve the problems of the leading squad of the Prefectural Party Committee. Some of them fear that unity of "a group of people" within the standing committee of the Prefectural Party Committee may be affected, others that the relations between comrades at the higher and lower levels may be jeopardized. Some comrades who themselves have been afflicted with the bourgeois style of life fear that they may suffer from purge. And so on and so forth. Although they entertain this and that fear, they do not fear putting Marxism-Leninism into the pigeon-hole. Such is an expression of the incorrect style of learning and impure Party spirit. "Such an attitude toward Marxism-Leninism is very harmful, particularly so to cadres at the intermediate and higher levels." "If we only talk about linking theory with practice without actually doing so, no good results can be achieved even if we talk about it for a hundred years." By studying Chairman Mao's instructions again, we have raised our consciousness of linking theory with reality and arrived at a better understanding of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know that the bourgeois style of life is part of the contagions, plagues and ulcers of capitalism, a gust of evil wind of the frantic attack launched by the new and old bourgeois elements against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether we seriously overcome this evil wind is an important matter bearing on whether we practice Marxism or revisionism. When we make the theory clear and stand firm ideologically, we will act consciously. In view of some problems existing in the leading group of the Prefectural Party Committee, we worked out a set of rules and passed them on to the lower levels, and accepted the supervision of the cadres and the masses. With the leadership of the Prefectural Party Committee taking the lead, we were determined to firmly resist the corruption and attack by bourgeois ideology. What we did was welcomed by the cadres and the masses. With the Prefectural Party Committee taking the lead, the various county and commune Party committees and basic-level Party organizations have also taken action to suppress the bourgeois evil wind and to promote the proletarian style of work.

Impelled by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our prefecture, like other parts of the country, has created an excellent situation in revolution and production, with all, from the leading cadres down, studying seriously, criticizing capitalist tendencies in relation to realities, keeping to the socialist road, and consciously implementing the Party's basic line. Great revolutionary enthusiasm has been generated, and the mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture have developed with vigor. New headway has been made in industrial and farm production. Such a lively and encouraging situation has once again made us feel deeply that Marxism-Leninism is a magic wand for the proletariat and the masses of people in making revolution. To read some more Marxist-Leninist works and to strive to master theory on the basis of linking it with practice--this is the most important and basic task for us revolutionaries, especially leading cadres.

So far as I am concerned, I have only taken the first step in studying Marxism on the basis of linking theory with practice and raising my Marxist-Leninist level. In the future I must make greater efforts and persist in study on a long-term basis. Instead of studying for a while, I will continue to study persistently and without interruption so as to gradually establish the Marxist world outlook. This requires that we give constant attention to adjusting the relationship between politics and vocational work and, in solving the contradiction between study and work, put political study in an important position, put politics in command of vocational work, and regard study as a propellant of work. As a leading cadre, one should place more exacting demands on one's own study. This is not merely a problem of whether one can continue to progress and continue to adapt to the needs of revolutionary work. More importantly, as we shoulder the heavy tasks entrusted to us by the Party and the people, it is a problem of whether the areas which we lead will practice Marxism or revisionism. Whenever I think of this, I will encourage myself to make the utmost efforts to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with more fruitful results so as to make a better job of revolutionary work.

* * *

Organize Workers to Read and Study Seriously

by

the Trade Union Committee of Peking "February 7"
Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Whether trade unions should organize workers to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has always been an important question of the two-line struggle in the workers movement. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist line on the workers movement has been criticized. Under the leadership of the Party committee, the trade union of our plant has persisted in organizing the workers to read and study seriously as a primary task, continuously raising their awareness of class and line struggles and developing the excellent situation in revolution and production. Say the workers: "Trade union work now is done in the right way."

Following its overhaul in 1973 and the gradual development of work, the trade union has been asked to do more work in cooperation with other quarters, with many workers turning to it for assistance in solving their various specific problems. In view of the fact that the trade union has a lot of work to do in addition to helping worker comrades solve some of their specific problems, what should be done on a priority basis? In the light of the plant Party committee's instruction, we seriously discussed the matter. Lenin said: "The trade union is a communist school." According to this teaching, we concluded unanimously that the trade union should give top priority to organizing workers to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Ours is an old plant with a history of more than seven decades. Recalling its past enables us to profoundly understand the great significance of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the workers movement and the importance of organizing workers to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In the old society, we workers lived a life worse than that of beasts of burden. The Changhsin /long toiling/ Shop became a "heart-breaking shop." Although workers continued to put up resistance in the early period, such spontaneous struggle always met with repeated setbacks. More than 50 years ago, the great leader Chairman Mao visited our plant and told us about Marxism-Leninism. The seeds of revolution were sown. Under the Party's leadership, a trade union organization was set up and the workers movement was guided by Marxism-Leninism. The well-known "February 7" general strike was staged. Historical experience tells us: No spontaneous workers movement can lead the workers genuinely to the road of proletarian revolution, and the workers movement can advance in the correct direction only when it is led by the Communist Party and uses Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretic basis of its guiding thought. We must inherit and develop the revolutionary tradition of having Marxism-Leninism integrated with the workers movement.

In the socialist period, the trade union is a strong cornerstone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said: "The trade union plays an extremely vital role in the entire course of bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Without the trade union as a foundation, it is impossible to realize dictatorship." We have come to see through practice that for the trade union to organize workers to read and study seriously is dictated by the need to bring its role into full play as a cornerstone of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the trade union can enable the worker masses to consciously carry out the Party's line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and actively fight for the consolidation of this dictatorship only if it organizes them to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and helps them to make clear why it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Viewed from the characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period and the actual situation of the workers ranks in our plant, organizing the workers to read and study seriously is of immense importance in resisting corruption by bourgeois ideology and in setting up a revolutionized working-class contingent armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. Lenin said: "The working class is not severed by a Chinese Wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased person is simply removed. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us." Chairman Mao says: "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Both of these teaching fit in with our actual situation today. The workers ranks in our plant are basically good, but the force of habit of the old society and the influence of bourgeois ideas are reflected among the workers in varying degrees. The overthrown exploiting classes always try by a thousand and one ways to corrupt our worker ranks, and some workers have even degenerated into new bourgeois elements. Therefore, we must strengthen education on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the workers in order to constantly raise their political awareness and consciously resist corruption by bourgeois ideology. It is only in this way that the proletariat can unite with the other sections of the toiling masses to fulfill their historical mission under the leadership of the Party.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i,pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, promoted within the workers movement "the theory of the dying out of class struggle," "economism" and "unionism," opposing the study by workers of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao and using all kinds of taboos to obstruct the trade union from organizing the workers to study. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao also did his best to oppose and obstruct the worker masses from studying such works. Their criminal aim was to disarm the workers ideologically in a vain attempt to lead the workers movement to the evil path so that they could topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. But although we raised our understanding after criticizing their revisionist line, yet in

practical work, we tended to slacken our study when we were busy with other work. There appeared the situation in which "study is important when we talk about it and becomes less so when we do other work, and we give it up when we are occupied with our job." In view of this, we organized the trade union cadres to study the theses of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the workers movement, constantly criticize the revisionist line on the workers movement, and pay attention to summing up their own experience and lessons. The trade union group of No.2 Mechanics Workshop once relaxed its effort to organize the workers to study, with the chairman of the group entangling himself with routine work all day long, from morning till night, and being placed in an increasingly passive position. Later, they devoted the main part of their energy to grasping study and ideological and political work, and made a point of developing the enthusiasm of the worker masses in work. In this way, with a correct line, the passive situation was reversed, and the outlook of the workshop trade union group was completely renewed. Facts show that only through seriously organizing the workers to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and pursuing a correct line is it possible to provide trade union work with a correct orientation.

In the course of organizing the workers to read and study, we adhere to the policy of integrating theory with reality and pay attention to closely linking study with actual struggle. "Our struggle requires Marxism." Only through studying in the course of struggle can we genuinely master Marxism. Our principal approach in this regard is this: In light of the needs of struggle, select the relevant works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, read them seriously, do research on them so as to grasp their spirit and essence and master the basic viewpoints; guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, sum up the experience of struggle, raise perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge, and cast away blindness; and bearing important problems in actual struggle in mind, conduct penetrating investigation and study in order to explain them with Marxist-Leninist theory and solve them correctly. Recently, we have been organizing the workers to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Six young workers in the repair workshop, in conjunction with their study on the question of whether to restrict or extend bourgeois right, investigated the history of struggle of our plant in this aspect over the last 20 years and more since liberation and wrote a report entitled "We Must Be the Masters of the Country, Not Slaves to Money." The report made a scathing criticism of "material incentives," made its recommendations for restricting bourgeois right, and expressed the great resolve of the working class to break with the concept of bourgeois right. Commenting on the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of struggle, the workers said: "We can understand, remember and apply what we have to learn." Studying problems on the plane of combining theory with practice has raised the workers' ability to distinguish between genuine Marxism and sham.

Strengthening the workers theoretical contingent can greatly stimulate the workers to read and study. Under the unified leadership of the Party committee and in cooperation with its propaganda department, we worked for the formation of a contingent of worker theorists. We set up a study system, providing time and other conditions for study by members of the theoretical contingent. Moreover, we sent members of the plant's theoretical group to attend lectures given by the Municipal General Trade Union Council so as to raise their level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Meanwhile, we stepped up ideological and political work among the theoretical contingent, urging its members to go on transforming their subjective world in the struggle to transform the objective world and to guard against corruption by bourgeois ideology. At present, our plant has formed a theoretical contingent with a membership of over 540 persons. They are scattered in various workshops (sections and offices) and teams in the plant, serving as backbone elements for all other workers in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Many comrades are not only backbone elements in theoretical study but also vanguards in the struggle for production, "going to the rostrum with greased uniforms and returning to the bench after delivering their lectures." Relying on this contingent of worker theorists makes it possible to give more systematic guidance to the study of the broad masses of workers. At one time or another, under guidance workers of the plant have studied such works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao as "Communist Manifesto," "Critique of the Gotha Program," "The State and Revolution" and "The Present Situation and Our Task," totalling 15. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we organized 12 special lectures, including "Who was Confucius?", "Ch'in Shih Huang's Progressive Role in History" and "The History of Struggle Between Confucian and Legalist Schools." Recently, with a view to helping the masses to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well, the comrades of the theoretical group compiled a handbook entitled "Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" to give guidance to the worker masses in study.

In order to realistically organize the masses of workers to study, we have mainly worked in the following four respects: First, grasp the study by trade union cadres. We instituted and have adhered to the system of study days for trade union cadres, and in light of needs, regularly held various types of study classes. Over the past two years and more, we have held 28 classes for trade union cadres, with a total attendance of more than 1,200. In addition, trade union cadres have gone to shifts and groups to join the rank and file in study and take the lead in study. Recently, trade union cadres have mounted the rostrum one after the other to assist the masses in studying the question of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus effectively mobilizing them in study. Second, we set up workers political sparetime schools at the plant and workshop levels. Every workshop in the plant has such a political sparetime schools, with over 90 percent of workers attending. The school run by the plant's general office is charged with the task of mainly training teachers and assistants for the various workshops. Third, we have study conducted in shifts and groups. This is an effective way of most extensively organizing workers to take up study in an earnest manner. For the past two years and more, we have

consistently linked the development of political movements closely with the organization of workers to study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and upheld the system of studying four days each week and one hour daily. Fourth, in close cooperation with the CYL, we set up sparetime study groups. At present, the plant has over 210 sparetime study groups studying the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, with the total number of participants exceeding 2,500. The young women workers study group of the diesel engine workshop has existed for six years, with its membership increasing from five to 33. Persisting in study, they have made rapid political progress. Three have been admitted into the Party and 23 into the CYL. With the broad masses of workers organized in the above-mentioned forms, the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao has become a general practice for all.

Under the leadership of the Party, we have insisted on taking the organization of workers to read and study as a primary task of the trade union, which has led to the all-round development of trade union work. As a link between the Party and the masses, a cornerstone of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a school for the vast masses of workers to study Communism, the trade union has played its due role in the three great revolutionary struggles. We are determined, in accordance with our great leader Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, to further organize the workers to read and study seriously and strive to do a good job of trade union work.

* * *

Young People Should Be Promoters in Narrowing the Three Major Differences

by

the educated youth of a farm run by Paikuan Production Brigade in Chuchou hsien, Hunan

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

We educated young people have spent nearly 10 years in school, acquiring some cultural and scientific knowledge. Should we go to the mountain and rural areas and take the road of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants? Recently we studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and summed up our achievements and experience in going to the countryside. We unanimously agreed that it is quite necessary to go to the countryside.

It is necessary to do so, because it is of great importance in restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences, combating and preventing revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The existence of bourgeois rights and the three major differences in socialist society provides the soil and conditions engendering new bourgeois elements. Such rights and differences can only be restricted and gradually reduced under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is with a view to restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences, combating and preventing revisionism, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat that our Party implements a complete proletarian educational line, principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao, and encourages educated youth to go to the countryside to receive re-education from poor and lower-middle peasants and become new-type peasants with socialist consciousness and cultural and scientific knowledge. For educated young people to settle in the countryside is conducive to turning intellectuals into laborers and vice versa, and to strengthening the ties between town and country and between workers and peasants. This socialist new thing is a forceful criticism of the exploiting-class ideas of "going to school to become a government official," of looking down on manual labor, slighting the countryside and peasants. It is an important measure for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and to create conditions which will make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. We are all charged with emotion when we study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and think of the great significance for educated young people to go to the countryside. And the more we think about this, the more we feel that we have taken the correct path. The more we think about this, the greater becomes our determination to take root in the countryside to make revolution for the rest of our lives.

Lenin said: "In order to completely eliminate classes, it is not only necessary to overthrow the exploiting classes, landlords and capitalists, and to abolish their ownership, it is also essential to

abolish any system of private ownership of the means of production, to eliminate the differences between town and country and between mental and manual labor." This is a long-term fighting task which calls for the efforts of several generations. Only when we enter communist society can we completely erase the birthmarks of the old society including bourgeois rights and the three major differences. However, communism will not drop from the skies; it must be gradually realized with earnest effort. For our part, we educated young people should go to the countryside in response to Chairman Mao's great call and strive to become new-type socialist peasants fully committed to the great cause of restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the three major differences. This is a glorious duty for the present young generation. How can we speak of working hard for the communist cause if we only care to live in the cities but not in the countryside, if we only want to become cadres and workers but not peasants, and if we hesitate to contribute to restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the three major differences after spending several years in school and acquiring some basic knowledge? Thus, with the passage of time, the three major differences are bound to be expanded, not narrowed, and this is against the great goal of our struggle. We educated young people must firmly oppose the unhealthy tendency to hanker after city life, look down on farm labor, and want to leave the countryside.

For thousands of years, the exploiting classes have constantly promoted the reactionary fallacy that those who labor with their minds are noble and those who labor with their strength are cheap, and preached the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as reflected in the saying "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others." Their aim is to maintain their reactionary rule and enslave and oppress the working people. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique attacked the educated young people going to the countryside as "labor reform in a disguised form" in an attempt to recover the "paradise" lost by the landlord and bourgeois classes. They attempted, through doing this, to oppose our Party's policies, principles and measures in restricting bourgeois right and narrowing the three major differences, and to expand bourgeois right. At the same time they instigated and wooed a small number of young people who were more deeply affected by the idea of bourgeois rights so that they would chase after the bourgeois style of life in order to foster their social basis for restoring capitalism. Of course, this is only a pipe dream for people like Lin Piao. We revolutionary young people are fully aware that whether or not we persist in taking the path of going to the countryside involves the major issue of whether we want to be successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat or become tools for people like Lin Piao to restore capitalism. People like Lin Piao object to educated young people going to the countryside and we must persist in this correct orientation. People like Lin Piao want to extend bourgeois right and enlarge the three major differences, and we must be promoters in restricting such right and narrowing such differences.

As far as we educated young people are concerned, it is extremely important to destroy the idea of bourgeois right and to narrow and eliminate the differences between us and the worker-peasant masses in

thoughts and feelings. We were born in the new society and grow up under the red flag, and we are filled with revolutionary enthusiasm. However, we do not know much yet about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and have never been tempered in the three great revolutionary movements. Our world outlook has not been fundamentally transformed, and we are susceptible to the influence of bourgeois ideas and can be easily bound by the concept of bourgeois right. When we first arrived in the countryside we thought and worked differently from the poor and lower-middle peasants. Some pinched our noses at the sight of night soil. Some did not like the poor and lower-middle peasants to come into the house for fear that they might soil their clothes or bedding. During harvesting the poor and lower-middle peasants would rush to the fields to protect collective property when it rained, while we would run back to our house for fear that our clothes might get wet. All this reflected the gaps between the poor and lower-middle peasants and us in thoughts and feelings. Noting our attitude, they studied Chairman Mao's works with us, and educated us on revolutionary traditions. We gradually realized this: "Workers and peasants are the cleanest. Though their hands are dark and their feet smeared with ox dung, they are cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." Our thoughts and feelings gradually changed, and we began to work with them and share their ideas.

Chairman Mao points out: "Our educational policy should enable one who gets an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a cultured, socialist-minded worker." In the course of receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants, we have developed morally, intellectually and physically. While raising our ideological level and broadening our practical knowledge, we have become stronger physically, gradually growing into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. Of our 52 educated young people, two have joined the Party and eleven the League. Some have been recommended by the poor and lower-middle peasants to be teachers in people-operated schools or "barefoot doctors." Most of us have also learned something about tilling the fields. With the help of the poor and lower-middle peasants and after two years or more of arduous struggle, we have restored more than 100 mow of vegetable and fruit gardens, opened up more than 170 mow of wasteland and planted over 8,500 tea and fruit trees, in addition to transforming a portion of low-yield fields, increasing per-mow output of grain from some 400 catties to over 1,000 catties. In 1974, our farm gained all-round rich results in agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, subsidiary production and fishing, its gross income doubled that of the year when we arrived in the countryside. In addition, with the help of poor and lower-middle peasants, we set up a farm machine factory and a small tea-processing workshop. We carry out farming during the busy farming season and work in the factory and workshop during the slack farming season. We are both peasants and workers and make our due contributions to the development of the socialist collective economy and to the consolidation of the socialist positions in the countryside. The poor and lower-middle peasants praise us as "new-type socialist peasants capable of taking up a pen as well as a gun." This is support and encouragement for us to go to the mountain and rural areas.

Some people say: It is a great pity that a well-educated person should go to the countryside to become a peasant, for his talent is "wasted." But we don't think so. The countryside is a vast world with great possibilities. When we first arrived in the countryside, some did not even know how to use a hoe or how to operate a waterwheel. They knew little about society and about class and line struggles. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a bad element took the opportunity to reverse the verdict passed on him. He seemed to us to be rather active. However, when the poor and lower-middle peasants took a look at him, they immediately found something wrong with him and promptly caught his fox tail. This incident gave us a profound education, showing that what we had learned in school was quite limited, and that we were greenhorns in the struggle for production and were unable to see things through class struggle. It was only under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and through the patient education of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the tempering in actual struggle that we raised our class consciousness and began to learn some skills for class and production struggles. Chairman Mao says: "All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience." Working at the frontline of the three great revolutionary movements, the poor and lower-middle peasants have accumulated rich experiences in class struggle and the struggle for production. It is they who have real knowledge, and are our good teachers. Is it a pity that educated young people train themselves into laborers with socialist consciousness and culture by taking the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants, modestly learning from the working people and integrating their book knowledge with practice?

Some people who feel that it is a "pity" and "waste of talent" for an educated person to go to the countryside are, in the final analysis, obsessed by the idea of taking knowledge as private property. They have this sense of "waste" because, when they go to the rural areas, they find it impossible to use knowledge as capital to seek fame and gain. This is a big mistake. The poor and lower-middle peasants have told us in all earnestness: "You are educated young people brought up in the new society. You should use your knowledge to serve the socialist cause. Under no circumstances should you consider your knowledge as capital for seeking position and wealth!" These simple remarks, which reflect their earnest expectations of us, often ring in our ears. Most of us were born of families of workers and laboring people. It is the Party and the people who have sent us to school. What little knowledge we have is given by the Party and the people. What reason is there for us to regard our knowledge as capital to bargain with the Party and the people? Only intellectuals of exploiting classes regard knowledge as private property and use it to seek fame and profit. "When one has learned the literary and military skills, one sells them to the emperor"--this is a self-confession of intellectuals of the feudal landlord class who regard knowledge as a means of seeking position and wealth. The bourgeoisie considers knowledge a commodity and uses it to secure huge profits. Even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are still some unreformed bourgeois intellectuals who look upon their knowledge and skills as "living assets" with which they ask the Party and the people to give them honor and positions and which they sell to the proletariat at a high price. Under no circumstances should we be dazzled by the

concept of bourgeois right, commodity, money and the bourgeois style of life. A revolutionary youth has no right to regard knowledge as capital to bargain with the Party and the people; he has only the obligation to use his knowledge to serve the socialist cause.

In the old society landlords and capitalists seized not only the material wealth created by the laboring people but also their spiritual wealth, depriving them of the right to study science and culture. The broad masses of laboring people, particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants, were illiterate and had no culture. This was a big crime of the old society. After liberation, the Party and the state have made strenuous efforts to develop education in the rural areas, carrying out the work of wiping out illiteracy on a mass scale. The situation in which the laboring people have no culture is changing. When educated young people go to the countryside to become socialist new-type peasants and bring along their cultural knowledge to help the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members to master culture, this also will help turn the laboring people into intellectuals. After arriving in the countryside in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we set up political evening schools for nearby production teams and helped the peasants study theory and culture. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have carried out revolutionary mass criticism together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, studying and lecturing on the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and summing up historical experience to serve the current class struggle. We have set up Red reading rooms, learned to sing model revolutionary opera songs and carried out various cultural and sports activities. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, we have conducted agricultural scientific research and practiced scientific farming. By so doing, we have forcefully occupied the ideological position in the countryside, not only activating cultural life but giving a boost to production. Some old habits and customs in the countryside are being replaced by new socialist ideas and practices. From this we see more clearly the far-reaching significance for educated young people to go to the countryside and their bright future.

Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly on the eve of the liberation: "Attention must be given to both city and village and it is essential to link urban and rural work, workers and peasants, industry and agriculture closely together." For educated young people to go to the countryside is conducive to strengthening the ties between the socialist cities and countryside, workers and peasants and industry and agriculture. Most of us are children of workers and other laboring people. After coming to the countryside, we have further promoted the interchange of the experience of the three great revolutionary movements in town and country in the form of linking up factories and communes and collective settlements of educated youth, and hence mutual encouragement between town and countryside. When parents combine their concern for the growth of their children with their concern for socialist revolution and construction in the countryside, and when poor and lower-middle peasants combine the

training of educated youth with their concern for socialist revolution and construction in the cities and factories, this will greatly benefit the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. People say: "Linking up factories and communes is just fine because a bridge is built for the workers and the peasants. A generation of new men is growing up, the three major differences are being reduced." With the help of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, we are determined to conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, consciously remold our world outlook, and unswervingly take the broad road to the countryside as indicated by Chairman Mao to the end.

* * *

Transform the Cultural Army in the Proletarian Image

- study "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"

by

Tu Hua-chang (杜华章)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art": "To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." "Absolutely indispensable" applied to the period of the new democratic revolution, and applies even more to the period of the socialist revolution. Without a mighty cultural army of its own, it is impossible for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, especially to firmly secure all spheres of culture in the superstructure.

The "Talks" presented an incisive analysis of the actual situation on the cultural front at that time. Most cultural workers in the various base areas during the War of Resistance Against Japan at the time were working hard. Nevertheless, for the ranks of cultural workers as a whole, "the question for whom" "has not been clearly settled." In the literary and art circles in Yenan in those days, "incorrect styles of work exist to a serious extent." There were many Party members who, although having joined the Party organizationally, had not done so in the ideological sense. Some people knew nothing at all about proletarian ideology and communism, and did not have the slightest flavor of a Communist. As for people like Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei and Ting Ling, they acted like revolutionaries but wrote like counter-revolutionaries. They would avail themselves of every opportunity to stir up trouble and attack the Party in an attempt to transform the Party and the world in the image of the bourgeoisie. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao in his "Talks" told the literary and art circles and the whole Party: "An effective and serious campaign of rectification is needed," "it is necessary to launch a struggle by the proletariat against non-proletarian ideas." The proletariat must not accommodate that pack of bourgeois representatives. If we followed them, "there would be the danger of the Party and the state perishing. Whom should we follow? We can only transform the Party and the world in the image of the vanguards of the proletariat." This of course applies equally to the transformation of cultural ranks.

Up to the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the bourgeoisie had all along been in a dominating position in the cultural and art spheres, which became a very stubborn citadel of capitalism. Stubborn resistance from the bourgeoisie is inevitable in our effort to transform the ranks of cultural workers in the image of the proletariat.

The focal point of this struggle for and against transformation is the question of whom to serve, that is the question of who exercises dictatorship over whom. If we look back over the course of the shocking struggle in the ideological and cultural fields since the publication of the "Talks," we will see clearly the grave, protracted and devious nature of this struggle, that it is no easy task for the proletariat to bring up its own cultural army.

After the Yenan forum on literature and art, a large number of revolutionary writers and artists, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, headed for the front and villages to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They had produced some relatively good works. However, not too long after they had entered the cities, some forgot about Chairman Mao's teachings, were dazzled by the bourgeois world of pleasure and suffered defeats in the face of sugar-coated bullets. Some even degenerated into bourgeois Rightists. Through a series of struggles from the criticism of "The Life of Wu Hsün" to the rectification campaign and struggle against the Rightists, the cultural ranks were preliminarily tempered and cleaned. However, poisoned by the sinister revisionist line on literature and art with Chou Yang as its chieftain, a group of people, including cadres sent by the Party from army units and factories to work in the cultural departments since the founding of New China and amateur writers brought up from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, were either "devoured" or driven away by the bourgeoisie. The situation that existed in the circles of literature and art before the great proletarian cultural revolution was precisely as Chairman Mao incisively pointed out in his two instructions concerning literature and art issued toward the end of 1963 and June 1964 respectively. He said: "Problems abound and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation." "In recent years, they have even slid to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remold themselves seriously, they are bound to turn themselves into bodies like the Hungarian Petofi Club one day."

A thought-provoking question is raised here: Why is it so difficult for the proletariat to bring up its own cultural army and why are trained people so easily corrupted by bourgeois ideology? A correct answer to this question can be found only by studying and analyzing it with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle in the spheres of culture today is dominated by the laws of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as there exist bourgeois rights, a commodity system and exchange by means of money, and the three major differences (which are shown in literary and art and other departments of spiritual production), soil is present for engendering new bourgeois elements. In cultural spheres the poisonous germs of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism have multiplied from generation to generation, and the force of tradition is deep-seated, providing additional conditions for the production of new bourgeois elements. In their efforts to realize their sinister schemes for capitalist restoration, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Chou Yang and their ilk desperately preserved, strengthened and expanded bourgeois rights,

using the idea of bourgeois right and various kinds of sugar-coated bullets to corrupt the cultural ranks. They did so not to train fighters dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat but to foster a handful of revisionist intellectual aristocrats to lord it over the workers, peasants and soldiers. With gain and fame as bait, they lured the cultural workers to follow their revisionist line. Did not Chou Yang say that "remuneration for those engaged in art creations should depend on the kind of the work created?" They did their best to use material gain to "stimulate" enthusiasm for taking the capitalist road. Whoever did as they said would regard his knowledge, skills, works and even himself as commodities and apply the capitalist principle of commodity exchange to handle his relations with revolution and with the worker-peasant-soldier masses and find himself completely alienated from socialism. If this situation were allowed to remain unchanged, would it be strange that group after group of people would drop from the ranks and become rotten?

The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and broke the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the revisionist sinister line in literature and art. The proletarian revolution in literature and art spearheaded by the revolution in Peking opera is developing in depth. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the proletariat has strengthened its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in an all-round way. It has taken a number of revolutionary measures to restrict bourgeois rights, such as taking on the May 7 road, sending cadres to grassroots units to stay with the workers, peasants and soldiers in groups and by stages, forming "three-in-one" squads, and eliminating the revisionist system of "material incentives." Impelled by model revolutionary theatrical works, our cultural work and the outlook of the entire force of cultural workers have indeed undergone great changes. A new cultural army coming from the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving them is growing in strength. But have we completed the task of transforming the ranks of cultural workers in the proletarian image? No. The bourgeois forces and their influence, especially in the ideological field including the idea of bourgeois right and the bourgeois style of life, cannot be swept clean by one or two great proletarian cultural revolutions. On the question of the cultural ranks, the struggle for and against transformation is still going on violently, and is a protracted struggle having a bearing on the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The cultural field has always been one most sensitively reflecting the trend of class struggle. While the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade cliques were restoring capitalism, some leaders in the revisionist cultural circles in the Soviet Union acted as trumpeters. Among these people some were old bourgeois intellectuals who had never remolded themselves and some were trained by the Soviet regime from among the workers, peasants and soldiers but later degenerated into new bourgeois elements under the corrosion of bourgeois right and the idea of bourgeois right. The Khruschev and Brezhnev renegade cliques are the political representatives of new and old bourgeois elements including these people. The emergence of these teachers by negative example reminds us that we must fully see the importance of transforming the cultural army in the proletarian image.

In socialist society it is impossible yet to abolish bourgeois rights entirely. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the question of whether to restrict or not to restrict bourgeoisie rights is a vital aspect of the struggle for or against transformation of cultural ranks. Only by conscientiously transforming our world outlook and freeing ourselves from the fetters of the idea of bourgeois right can we persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and become conscious revolutionary fighters. What basically differentiates the proletariat from all exploiting classes and small producers is that the proletariat, apart from striving for its own emancipation and that of the whole of mankind, has no private interests. Proletarian cultural work is part of the entire revolutionary cause of the proletariat, a cog and a screw. We have only the obligation to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly, and no right to demand "abundant rewards and special treatment" from the Party and the people. We have only the duty to attack the bourgeoisie with militant spirit, and no reason to regard our work as more noble than other revolutionary tasks. Our revolutionary forerunners shed their blood and laid down their lives, and the vast masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are heroically battling on the front of the three great revolutionary movements, with nothing but the great revolutionary goal in mind. If we are fettered by the idea of bourgeois right, we will not be able to see the great revolutionary goal, and will only see the small world beneath our noses. Today, if we still harbor the notions that "knowledge" and "creations" are "private property" and that "jobs are for the pay" or if we create and perform theatrical works for the workers, peasants and soldiers with the attitude of dispensing favors, or if we are enchanted by and relish "material incentives," we will easily fall into the revisionist quagmire.

Class struggles both in the past and at present have enhanced our understanding of the importance of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. The "Talks" pointed out that the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers involves a question of line as well as one of world outlook. If this basic question is solved, many other problems will be readily solved. Serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrating with them is the road we must traverse in order to restrict bourgeois rights, eliminate the idea of bourgeois rights, and narrow the three major gaps. In other words, only by eliminating the idea of bourgeois rights can we really integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Now we can say that in our cultural ranks few are verbally opposed to integration with the worker-peasant-soldier masses. However, just as Chairman Mao stressed in his "Talks," we must solve this question not only "in theory and in words," but also "in practice and action." Saying one thing and doing another is not the proletarian style of work. Some comrades always confine themselves to tall buildings and are reluctant to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Others have gone to the countryside, but they, as the masses have described them, have fallen into "a well," floating on the "top" of the "bottom," staying in the reception houses all day long or spending their time visiting scenic spots. Although some comrades have

gone among the workers, peasants and soldiers, they have not "become one with the workers, peasants and soldiers in thoughts and feelings." To "go among the workers, peasants and soldiers permanently, unconditionally and wholeheartedly" or temporarily, conditionally, half-heartedly or even pretentiously--is this not a question of world outlook? The struggle and reversals on this question have further testified to the necessity of transforming our world outlook and eliminating the idea of bourgeois right. Some people are afraid to talk about "transformation," asking: I have transformed myself for so many years, when should I stop? Such an idea of wanting to receive "a diploma" for transformation of world outlook is an untenable metaphysical idea. As there is no end to revolution, so there is no end to transformation. Persevering in transforming one's world outlook and forever following the road of integrating oneself with the workers, peasants and soldiers is an important distinguishing feature of a communist.

The transformation of the world outlook of the cultural ranks should involve all academic fields. A small number of people who have been seriously influenced by the concept of bourgeois rights rely on their limited knowledge and outmoded "systems" to decorate themselves and to use them as capital to seek a high price from the proletariat. To them, these things are the foundation of their life, and without them they cannot survive at all. Criticizing bourgeois "systems" in the academic fields is a task in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. In the course of transformation, we will surely encounter new contradictions, new difficulties and new problems. Lu Hsün once talked about his agony when "he could not write about the new and was unwilling to write about the old." And he cited a metaphor: "Han Tan was famous in the world for the way he walked. Someone tried to emulate him, but he didn't succeed and forgot the way he used to walk. He had no choice but to crawl back home." From this Lu Hsün did not reach a passive conclusion; on the contrary, he declared with the militant stance of a real revolutionary: "I'm crawling. But I want to go on learning so I can stand up." Some of our comrades may also suffer from such temporary agony: they have cast away the old, but they have not yet learned the new. What should they do? They should learn from Lu Hsün: go on learning, stand up! There is nothing in the world which cannot be learned. It is against the proletarian revolutionary spirit to retreat to the old road in face of difficulties.

The question of transforming the cultural ranks raised by Chairman Mao in his "Talks" is of universal significance as a guide not only to the literary and art circles but to all scientific and technological, educational, journalistic and publishing and public health circles and departments. In these spheres and departments, likewise we should, in the spirit of the "Talks," strive to transform our own ranks, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, eliminate all bourgeois ideas, criticize revisionism, and firmly advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

How can we discern and resist the bourgeois stuff? In this regard, Chairman Mao stresses the need to study seriously. "Marxism-Leninism is a science all revolutionaries should study." In Yenan at that time, many were unable to draw a line between proletarian and bourgeois ideology because they "lack the basic Marxist viewpoints." Why were some of our comrades cheated by people like Lin Piao? Why did they fail to resist bourgeois and revisionist things effectively? Why did they fail to see clearly the nature and negative effects of bourgeois right? The answer lies here. One's consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines does not come about spontaneously. In order to carry out the historical mission of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we are sharply confronted with the task of studying Marxist-Leninist theory realistically. We must grasp the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by integrating theory with practice, and draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with bourgeois traditional concepts in both thinking and deed.

The fact that it is not easy for the proletariat to build its own cultural army can only enhance our sense of responsibility and consciousness in fulfilling this task. No difficulties can stop our victorious advance when we are guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. A massive cultural army of the proletariat is growing up and swelling in the course of struggle. Let us advance courageously in the direction pointed out in the "Talks"!

* * *

Keep on Doing the Work of Medical Teams Well

by

Wei Ko (韦革)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

In order to further implement Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction "place the emphasis of public health work in the countryside," the work of medical teams has generally been strengthened nationwide this year. More medical workers in cities have been organized and sent to border areas, minority nationality regions and some remote villages to join the poor and lower-middle peasants in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the work of preventing and curing diseases, and take an active part in socialist revolution and construction in the countryside. Medical teams are playing a very important role in public health work in the vast countryside.

The great leader Chairman Mao has always been concerned about the masses of the people. During the revolutionary war years, the Party Central Committee and the People's Government regularly dispatched work teams, propaganda teams, comfort missions and medical teams into various revolutionary base areas and liberated areas to mobilize and organize the masses, to care for their livelihood and to solve their various problems involving production, clothing, food, housing, diseases and health. This enabled the Party and the masses to establish a fish-and-water relationship and assured the victory of the revolutionary war. After the liberation, Chairman Mao again repeatedly emphasized the necessity of developing public health, raising the health level of the people and particularly of developing the economic, cultural and health undertakings in the national minority and remote areas. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, in accordance with Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's instructions, medical teams were sent to the border regions, national minority areas and villages afflicted by more local diseases to provide them with doctors and medicine--a full demonstration of the concern of the Party and the state for the people of various nationalities as well as a demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system.

Over the past few years, medical teams consisting of several thousand people have been sent from Peking to work in Kansu, Shensi, Yunnan, Kiangsi and other provinces as well as Ali district in Tibet. Medical teams have been sent to Tibet from Shanghai, Liaoning, Kiangsu, Shantung, Honan, Hunan, Hupeh, Szechwan and other provinces and cities. The PLA has sent a large group of medical workers to help the countryside. The various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions have organized their own medical workers to develop health work in remote villages within their borders. Members of these medical teams have persisted in arming themselves with Mao Tsetung Thought, carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of the Red Army during the Long March. They scale snowy mountains, cross grasslands and mountains and wade through rivers to tour every village, bringing to it the great concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee for the people, which deeply impresses the poor and

lower-middle peasants. They would go anywhere to treat the sick even if this meant hardship for them. Members of the medical team working in Alashanyu Banner, riding on camels, taking dry rations and sleeping in the desert, have visited every Mongol yurt within the 8,000 square kilometers of the Great Badankirin Desert. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants (herdsmen) affectionately refer to these medical teams as "dear ones sent by Chairman Mao." They say emotionally: "Chairman Mao's heart is linked with those of poor and lower-middle peasants. We owe our happiness entirely to Chairman Mao."

Practice over these years shows that organizing medical workers to go to mountainous and rural areas and sending medical teams to the villages is an essential measure in consistently adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on public health and placing the emphasis of medical and health work in the countryside. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. "The state of the peasants has a great bearing on the development of our national economy and the consolidation of state power." Chairman Mao pointed out as early as 1945: "Would not national health become largely an empty phrase if we ignored our 360 million peasants?" After the liberation, Chairman Mao has time and again instructed us to orient our medical and health work to the workers, peasants and soldiers, to "place the emphasis of public health work in the countryside," to use the bulk of manpower and resources to meet the most urgent needs of the masses. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the the revisionist health line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has been repudiated, and Chairman Mao's proletarian health line has gone deeper into people's hearts. Party committees at various levels have strengthened their leadership over health work, and the emphasis of medical and health work has been gradually shifted to the villages. Several hundred thousand medical workers in the cities have successively arrived at the countryside either to settle down or to give mobile services, bringing to the countryside cultural and health knowledge and medical techniques and directly augmenting the forces of rural health work. This has caused the situation of lack of doctors and medicine to change quickly.

For city medical workers to go to the countryside is an important matter bearing on the development and consolidation of the rural socialist collective economy, the further strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By going to the villages to assist poor and lower-middle peasants and barefoot doctors in running their cooperative medical service well, medical workers can help improve the health conditions of the commune members, and this will be conducive to the development of agricultural production and the consolidation of socialist positions in the countryside. Although health work in our vast countryside has developed at a fast rate, it still lags behind that in cities in a considerable degree. For urban medical workers to help and strengthen the countryside is an effective measure to gradually narrow the three major differences in the medical and health field and to restrict bourgeois right. Particularly in national minority regions and remote border areas, although a number of hospitals have been built by the state, owing to the historical and environmental conditions and the vastness of these areas, they still require vigorous assistance from fraternal provinces and cities. This will contribute significantly

to consolidating the border defense of the motherland and to promoting the great unity of the people of all nationalities.

Sending medical teams to the countryside will help proletarian ideology further dominate ideological and cultural positions in the rural areas. Chairman Mao says: "If the rural position is not taken by socialism, it will surely be taken by capitalism." The medical and health front is an important front in the superstructure where the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are locked in fierce struggle. For a long time the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius so actively advocated by Lin Piao and his followers have imprisoned people's minds and bound them hand and foot. These want to make people believe that one contracts a disease because one "offends against Heaven," is "destined to suffer," and therefore can neither prevent nor cure it. At the same time, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, witches and sorcerers make use of feudal superstitions to conduct sabotage and restoration activities. After their arrival in the rural areas, medical teams conduct propaganda on Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian health line. In conjunction with class struggle on the medical and health front in the countryside, they make further criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the ideologies of all reactionary and declining classes. They assist the local authorities concerned in banning practice by witches, strengthening the socialist transformation of private practitioners, and eliminating the pernicious influence of the revisionist health line. Many medical teams have during their stay in the countryside mobilized the masses to repudiate the "theory of Heavenly will" spread by Lin Piao and Confucius, besides exposing and attacking the feudal superstitions spread around by the class enemy. The broad masses, positively breaking away from old customs and habits, have created a new situation in which "everyone is studying culture and hygiene. When disaster or illness befalls, no one asks God's help. They believe not in the will of Heaven but in revolution." This has further promoted stability and unity and consolidated and developed the exceedingly favorable situation in the ideological and cultural position in the countryside since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

When going to the countryside, medical workers take the revolutionary path as indicated by Chairman Mao. It is an excellent opportunity for medical workers to accept re-education from poor and lower-middle peasants and to remold their world outlook with effort. At the same time, it is also an important means of breaking the idea of bourgeois right in the medical and health sphere. Rural life may be harder than city life, but there the three great revolutionary movements are great melting pots for educating, tempering and remolding men. If we take a look at the noble spirit of the poor and lower-middle peasants who wholeheartedly serve the revolution and the collective, we will feel that the bourgeois idea of personal fame and gain, the idea of "private ownership of technology," the conception of gradation of social rank, etc. are contemptible. When we look at the lofty quality of the

poor and lower-middle peasants who toil for the socialist cause meticulously and diligently, we cannot but bitterly hate the irresponsible bourgeois style of medical practice. Many comrades have realized from personal experience: It is not enough to be there physically; it is more important to be there ideologically,to take root in the countryside, to learn honestly from the poor and lower-middle peasants and serve them wholeheartedly. When members of medical teams arrived at the Tibetan plateau from the coast of the East Sea, they took the border area as their home, joined the Tibetans in fighting against the odds of nature, and shared the latter's hard life. Thus they changed their thoughts and feelings drastically, sharing the desires and anxieties of the masses. Overcoming various difficulties, they successfully conducted in tents Caesarian operations, gastrectomy and enterectomy, winning the appreciation of the Tibetan people. As Chairman Mao has said: "Among students brought up in old schools, the majority or the overwhelming majority can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some have made discoveries and inventions. However, they must be led by a correct line and re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers in order to thoroughly change their old thinking. Such intellectuals are welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers." Some members of medical teams admitted with feeling: "We have cured the physical illnesses of the poor and lower-middle peasants, and they have cured our ideological illnesses. They need us, but we need them more."

An important aspect of Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line is to uphold the principle of "stressing prevention" and to run well the mass patriotic health campaign in a protracted manner. When a medical team goes to the countryside, whether it stresses prevention and runs well the mass health campaign is not a question of method but one of work orientation. "Whatever we do, we should carry out a mass movement, without which nothing can be accomplished." Judging by its extensive nature, health work is a piece of mass work. Since the number of members of medical teams is small after all, it is only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them that health work can be turned into a conscious action of the masses, so that they will stand up and fight against superstitions and unwholesome habits. With treatment provided by only a few medical workers and without the participation of the broad masses in the prevention and control of diseases and pests, nothing significant can be achieved. It is necessary to prevent the tendency to depart from the masses, to fight the battle alone, and to carry out treatment without prevention. We should closely rely on the masses and conduct meticulous propaganda and organizational work so as to create a situation in which "all are vigorously engaged in production, and the 'god of plague' is chased away by a thousand troops." The patriotic health campaign and prevention work in the countryside should be launched in coordination with agricultural production, with "two-control and five-improvement" (control of water and manure and improvement of wells, toilets, animal pens, cooking stoves and the environment) as part of the movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture" to be done a long-term basis. While seeing to it that the basic construction on farmland is done well, equal attention should be paid to the basic construction in rural health, and efforts should be made to accomplish the tasks concerning health work as set in the "National Program for Agricultural Development." Experience has shown that once

this key link is grasped, it will not only facilitate the development of agriculture but also benefit fundamentally the prevention and reduction of diseases and help raise the standard of health.

Chairman Mao points out: "Wherever we go, there we should integrate ourselves with the local people. We should strike root, grow and blossom among the people." On arriving at the countryside, medical teams should take it as an important task to help local medical and health workers raise their level and consolidate the cooperative medical service, and seriously do it well so as to leave behind a "medical team that doesn't go away." This is a basic measure for solving the local problem of lack of doctors and medicine, and also a good way for training rural medical workers with greater, faster, better and economical results. If this task is neglected, the work of medical teams can hardly be developed, and after they leave, the achievements made cannot be consolidated, either. According to experience gained in various areas, medical workers are trained mainly by the method of teaching, helping and leading them in the course of practice. Where conditions permit, study classes and experience exchange meetings may also be held to study politics and professional knowledge, to impart prevention and therapeutic techniques, to learn to use Chinese traditional and Western medicine in curing diseases, and to spread knowledge about birth control and women and children's hygiene. Members of medical teams should learn modestly from local medical workers and barefoot doctors who are more familiar with the laws governing the outbreak of local common and frequent diseases, the characteristics of local Chinese herbs, and the rich experience of the local people in fighting against diseases. Only by learning from these strong points can members of medical teams make up for their deficiencies and improve and work together with local medical workers and barefoot doctors so as to render better services to the people.

Medical workers sent to the countryside may have a variety of ideological problems, which must be seriously solved if the work of medical teams is to be strengthened. Before departing for the countryside, some of the medical workers, especially those who have estranged themselves from practice, the masses and labor for a long time, used to worry that they would find "little use for their talent" in the countryside, that they would have "everything to lose and nothing to gain," and that they would not be able to practice, let alone do scientific research. This idea obviously is wrong. The job of a medical worker is to prevent and cure diseases. The masses of poor and lower-middle peasants require more medical workers to be sent to the countryside, where many common and frequent diseases need to be prevented and controlled and the health outlook need to be greatly changed. How can one say that there is "little use for one's talent" there? Moreover, medical skills can be continuously improved only through more extensive and intensive practice. How can one say that one would not be able to practice? Our medical professional serves proletarian politics and the laboring people, and shouldn't we prevent and cure diseases among the broad peasant masses? In the past, due to

interference and sabotage by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, insufficient attention was paid to common, frequent and local diseases in the rural areas. Today, large amounts of manpower and material resources are diverted to the countryside for prevention and cure of diseases. This is precisely the direction for scientific research in medicine. Members of medical teams working in Tehsing county, an old revolutionary base area in Kiangsi, in three years of pharmacological research in the countryside have selected more than a hundred medicinal herbs and found a set of manufacturing processes suitable for extension in the countryside. They realized deeply that doing scientific research in the course of preventing and curing diseases can yield fast and good results. Many comrades feel: there is really a need for medical workers to go to the countryside, and if one must talk about "loss and gain," one will only lose the bourgeois style of "three separations" and gain the idea and skills of serving the people. Some knowledge that cannot be obtained and some difficult cases which cannot be solved in hospitals can be obtained and solved in the countryside. Surgical operations which no one dared to perform in hospitals in the past have now been performed successfully with simple equipment in the countryside. There are also some comrades who in practice have felt painfully that the method of training doctors under the old educational system and the methods of division of work, inspection and therapy in city hospitals are not applicable to the countryside and need to be changed. This fully shows that medical workers in the countryside are faced with many new problems and must study and improve again. The countryside is a big classroom, a big school full of knowledge and possibilities.

To organize city medical workers to go to rural areas and send medical teams there is an important political task that should be done on a long-term basis on the medical and health front. At the same time, the work of city hospitals should not be neglected or slackened. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee attach equal importance to the medical and health problems of city workers and other laboring people. The medical and health work in urban and rural areas can and should be mutually complementary. Having been tempered and improved through joining medical teams, medical workers may bring back to their hospitals the good ideas and style of serving the people wholeheartedly. They may improve their attitude toward service, raise the quality of medical work, and run the hospitals with open doors so city hospitals may serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in a still better way. Particularly, when leading cadres at various levels join the medical teams and regard them as bases for contacting the masses, taking part in labor, and conducting research and investigation, this will also be of great help in improving the style of leadership of health departments so that their work may be improved further. By continuing to do well in struggle-criticism-transformation in city hospitals, it will also be possible to further strengthen the work of medical teams and to use more manpower and material resources to aid the rural areas.

The new situation arising out of the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction has placed higher demands on health work. The farm upsurge must be followed by a health upsurge. Health departments should, under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels, seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, further criticize revisionism, and effectively shift the emphasis of work to the countryside in thinking as well as in action. "Leaders must be in the van of the movement, not lay behind it." Leading cadres should take the lead in joining medical teams, in augmenting and strengthening the backbone force, and in incessantly summing up experience. Units sending outand receiving medical teams should work out good plans jointly, further step up ideo-political work of medical teams, develop the glorious traditions of the Party, maintain the style of hard work and plain living, and make greater efforts to contribute to quickening the development of the health cause in China's countryside.

* * *

Further Develop the Film Projection Network in the Countryside

by

Chung Ying (钟颖)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, remarkable successes have been achieved in bringing movie shows to the mountainous and rural areas since the great proletarian cultural revolution. Compared with 1965, the number of film projection units throughout the nation's countryside has increased by three times. A massive army of rural film projectionists (including those who spend part of their time in farming) is growing in size and strength. Films based on revolutionary model theatrical works and other revolutionary films have been shown in the vast countryside on a scale never witnessed before, playing a militant role in "uniting and educating the people, striking at and wiping out the enemy." With the direct concern of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, our movie industry successfully trial manufactured 8.75 mm projectors, creating the conditions for films to be shown to the masses in border, mountainous and rural areas inaccessible to traffic. These major achievements mark the victory of the proletarian revolution in literature and art, a good beginning in orienting film projection work to the countryside.

Chairman Mao points out: "The question of whom to serve is a fundamental question, a question of principle." Our literary and art work must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers--this is an immutable orientation. Our country has a population of 800 million, most of whom live in the rural areas. Whether film projection work should be done in the mountainous and rural areas to serve the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants has always been a focal point of the struggle between the two lines in film projection. Before the cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou Yang and company opposed the policy of having literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. They carried out the revisionist line of "stressing cities and slighting villages" on the question of film projection. As a result, the rural movie projection network developed slowly. In many mountainous and border areas the masses could not have a film to see. Then during the great cultural revolution, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique secretly plotted and frenziedly undermined the work of showing films in the mountainous and rural areas. With the penetrating development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line scored major victories. Today, a prosperous scene has appeared in film projection in the rural and mountainous areas, and this is a result of the triumph of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

However, we must further recognize that tremendous efforts are still required to consolidate and develop the film projection network in the countryside.

Some comrades look upon the development and improvement of a rural film projection network merely as a small matter of showing a couple more pictures in the villages. This idea is wrong and very harmful too. Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the world of today, all culture, literature and arts belong to a certain class and are geared to a certain political line." Like other forms of literature and art, revolutionary films are propaganda tools of the Party, powerful weapons for class struggle. Throughout the entire socialist historical stage, the struggle between the two classes and two lines is still very sharp, fierce and complicated. In some places, the class enemies use bad plays, bad books, bad stories, and bad songs to fight the proletariat for control of the literary and art position and oppose the three great revolutionary movements. "If socialism does not occupy the rural position, capitalism will surely do so." It is no small matter to make a success of film projection in mountainous and rural areas, to serve proletarian politics with revolutionary films, conduct education in ideology and political line among the peasant masses and the educated youth who have gone there, spread socialist ideas and criticize capitalist tendencies. It is an important matter bearing on the consolidation of the socialist collective economy and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the vast countryside. To relax it is to relax class struggle in the superstructure, and this is extremely dangerous.

Over the past few years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, revolutionary model theatrical works have been successively adapted to the screen--a big joyous event in the political and cultural life of the Chinese people. Revolutionary model theatrical works are excellent teaching materials for carrying out the line education. An important means of popularizing such works in the vast rural areas is to show films based on such works on a wide scale. Throughout these years, tremendous achievements have been attained in our effort to bring films based on revolutionary model theatrical works to the mountainous and rural areas. From the release of the first film version of revolutionary model theatrical works, "Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" in 1970 up to the end of 1974, a total of over 7.2 million shows of films based on revolutionary model theatrical works were shown across the country, with a total audience of 7.3 billion. Calculated on the basis of the demand for one show of each film in each production brigade in the countryside, an average of three films or more have been shown across the country. More remarkable achievements have been attained in the popularization of films based on model theatrical works in some provinces, cities and autonomous regions. In Hunan, Liaoning and Kwangtung provinces, for example, more than seven films have been shown in production brigades. Since the first film based on a model theatrical work was shown in Yent'ai area in Shantung province, on the average, each of the over nine million people in the area has attended over 13 shows of films based on model theatrical works. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers like to see model theatrical works and strive to be revolutionaries. Everywhere there have emerged advanced examples of

learning from the thoughts of heroes, taking the road of heroes, and doing the deeds of heroes. At the same time, we must also see that the work of popularizing such films is still far from meeting the demands of the Party and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. The degree of popularization is still uneven as between one province and another and between one area and another, and in some remote mountainous areas, islands and regions inhabited by national minorities people still cannot see a film. Movie projectionists must continue to exert vigorous efforts at popularizing films based on revolutionary theatrical works in order to firmly take hold of the rural ideological and cultural positions and further consolidate and develop the brilliant achievements of the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

While popularizing films based on revolutionary model theatrical works, we must also continue to bring other revolutionary films to the mountainous and rural areas. Here we must mention in particular scientific and educational films. For the past few years, some comrades in charge of distribution departments have not paid sufficiently serious attention to scientific and educational films, lacking a set of relatively good methods for distribution. In some places, there is no one specially assigned to take care of scientific and educational films; in other places such pictures are treated as overtures to feature films. Socialist scientific and educational films are powerful weapons for propagating dialectical and historical materialism, for introducing advanced science and technology and production experience, and for promoting the development of the three great revolutionary movements. While dealing with the scientific subject strictly, they warmly sing the praises of the abundant revolutionary drive and great creative power of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Therefore, to make a success of bringing scientific and educational films to mountainous and rural areas is of vital importance in inspiring the fighting will of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and in promoting socialist revolution and construction there. We must seriously sum up and extend the experiences of advanced areas in distributing and showing scientific and educational films to the right people, at the right time and in the right place. In close coordination with the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside, we must dispatch these films to the countryside promptly so as to make them play a bigger role.

To develop the rural movie projection network urgently calls for a certain type of projector suited to the mountainous and rural areas. Following Chairman Mao's instructions of "independence and self-reliance," the Chinese working class designed and produced a 8.75 mm movie projector, thereby turning this desire into a reality. This new-type projector is small and handy, low in cost and cheap in price. It can be afforded by production brigades generally. Therefore, it is warmly welcomed by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, particularly poor and lower-middle peasants in remote areas. Up to now, film projection units using 8.75 mm projectors make up nearly half of all rural projection units throughout the country. In Liaoning, Kwangtung, Hopei and Hunan provinces where development has been relatively fast, not only most of the communes but also many brigades have a film projection team. Rural projection teams using 8.75 mm projectors are mushrooming

all over the country. Together with rural 16 mm projector teams which have also developed rapidly over recent years, they have changed the situation in which there are few movie projection teams in the country side and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants can hardly see a film. Take Kwangtung province for example. With the massive development of 8.75 mm projector teams, by the end of 1974 each person in the rural areas could see more than ten shows each year on the average, whereas before 1966 he could see no more than four shows on the average a year. Sangchih county, Hunan, is a big mountain area some 1,200-2,000 meters above sea level. Its population is scattered and communications are underdeveloped. It is very difficult to show films there. Some high mountains are not accessible at all and people there had not even seen a single film. After a 8.75 mm projector team was formed, it has been able to hang up a small screen and show a film whether in high mountains or in water conservation construction sites more than 50 meters underground. The broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants look upon the birth of 8.75 mm films as the greatest concern shown by the Party and Chairman Mao for the cultural life in the rural areas. They say: "These small films are really grand, and they come to you. You can settle in the village and stir up a high tide in revolution and production."

Of course, to grow any new thing has to go through difficult twists and turns. The 8.75 mm film - a new thing - is no exception, either. Since it began to play a militant role in bringing films to mountains and villages, it has been hated and feared by reactionaries both at home and abroad, who have viciously attacked it and said it "doesn't look like a film." They have tried hard to wipe it out on the cultural ground. Is it true that a 8.75 mm film "doesn't look like a film"? What is a "film" then? Can it be that only the so-called "three-dimensional films," films with "color, smell and taste" which satisfy the desire of the bourgeoisie for novelty and kicks are "films"? If so, an 8.75 mm film is indeed different from such type "films." Our 8.75 mm films only mean that the projector and the screen are small, but that precisely demonstrates its superiority. Although the projector is small, it is handy for use in mountainous and rural areas and has played a significant role in serving the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. Although the screen is small, it can be hung up in every village, thereby making revolutionary films widely available. That is precisely why the enemies attack and oppose it. The enemies' attack shows that we have done the right thing. We must help this new thing to grow. We must make it blossom all over the vast rural and mountainous areas.

The key to developing a rural film projection network to bring motion pictures to the mountainous and rural areas lies in building a revolutionary, vigorous force of film projectionists. Most of the existing 16 mm film projection teams in the rural areas are professional. Since the 8.75 mm film projection teams came into being, in many regions they have been staffed by communes or brigades, with projectionists not detached from the masses and collective production labor. They are in a similar

situation as rural barefoot doctors. The poor and lower-middle peasants affectionally call them "barefoot projectionists." This force has indeed played the part of light cavalry in the course of developing a film projection network in the countryside. To increase the effects of propaganda, many "barefoot projectionists" not only do their best to show the film well, but, prior to a show, use slides, singing and poetry recital in coordination with the publicity of the film and the political task of the Party in the given time and place. In Lunghsutao Commune, Jungch'eng county, Shantung, two women projectionists, besides persisting in taking part in collective productive labor and fulfilling their duties brilliantly as projectionists, composed over 70 items of singing and recital for use prior to a showing. Such projectionists are welcomed by poor and lower-middle peasants, who call them "three rolled into one"--commune members, projectionists, and Party propagandists. "Barefoot projectionists" appeared only after the great proletarian cultural revolution, and should be actively supported, their experiences summed up and popularized.

Rural projectionists require technique and culture, but they need even more the idea of serving the people. If they cannot solve the problem of "whom to serve" and "how to serve," they will lose their bearings in their work and take the wrong road. They should be selected from among the poor and lower-middle peasants and educated youth in the countryside. They must make an effort to study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works,deeply criticize such revisionist rubbish as "profit in command" and "box office value." They must continuously raise their consciousness of class and line struggles. Since they have to move from place to place all the time, their life is relatively hard. Party committees and cultural departments of various areas should show concern for their study and life. Projectionists should accept re-education from poor and lower-middle peasants, sharing the latter's needs and desires and always keeping the revolutionary quality of hard work and plain living. They must persist in giving mobile shows all year round. In order to accomplish the militant tasks assigned by the Party, the rural projectionists must also insist on putting proletarian politics in command, seriously study vocational skills, and strive to improve the quality of projection, so as to give the broad masses films good in sound and light. There is no limit to serving the people, nor is there an end to the road to being red and expert. Only by having such ideas can we insure good quality and effects of projection and play a greater role in bringing movies to mountainous and rural areas.

At present, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, a movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is developing in depth. In face of this new situation, the film projection work in mountainous and rural areas must be raised to a higher level. Let's, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and under the leadership of Party committees at all levels, promote a more vigorous

growth of film projection in the countryside. Let us strive to further occupy the rural ideological and cultural fields with films based on model revolutionary theatrical works and other revolutionary films, and make greater contributions toward the realization of all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture!

* * *

The Legalist School Was a Product of Big Social Changes During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods

by

Liang Szu-yüan (梁思源)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

The Legalist school which played a progressive role in Chinese history, as a school directly opposed to the Confucian school, appeared in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods--with its own peculiar economic basis and political conditions. Over the ages Confucian worshippers and some chieftains of the opportunist lines within our Party, driven as they were by reactionary political needs, have created a lot of lies on the question of the appearance of the Legalist school and obliterated the basic differences between the two classes and two lines represented by the Confucian and Legalist schools respectively in an attempt to devalue the historical position of the latter. Therefore, we must correctly analyze the economic and political causes of the appearance of the Legalist school with the help of Marxist historical materialism.

I.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society." ("On New Democracy") If we analyze the economic changes and political reforms, on which the appearance of the Legalist schools depended, according to this fundamental principle of historical materialism, it will not be difficult for us to see that the Legalist thinking, as a new social ideology, was precisely a reflection of the new economics and politics of the newly emerging landlord class in this period, serving as it did this class' economic and political revolutions.

Since the Spring and Autumn period, hard work and ingenuity of the slaves had made possible the successive appearance of iron farm tools and draft cattle and incessant improvement of farming techniques. These new productive forces inevitably came into sharp conflict with the decadent, reactionary relations of production under the slave system. On the one hand, "life of the upper level of society was extravagant and decadent" and "debauchery bred in royal palaces." Material wealth created by the slaves was willfully squandered by the slave-owning aristocrats. On the other, "the common people suffer" and "people dying of hunger in the street look at each other helplessly." ("Third Year of Reign of Duke Chao in 'Tso Commentary'") Slaves who created social wealth were hard hit by cold and hunger, struggling on the verge of death. The brutal rule of the slave-owning aristocracy seriously hindered the development of the productive forces, sharpening the class contradictions to an unprecedented extent. Tens of thousands of slaves rose to resist. The revolutionary torrents spearheaded by slaves and common people irresistibly and heavily pounded at the relations of production under the slave system. Records such as "public fields untended" ("Treatise of Agriculture in History of Han") and "weeds abound in fields" ("History of

Chou in History of Warring States") contained in history books vividly illustrated the crumbling economy under the slave system. Under these historical conditions, new feudal relations of production conforming to the development of the productive forces began to take shape, followed by the growth of the newly emerging landlord class. Egged on by waves of slaves' struggles, they "divided the land and levied taxes on it" ("Gathering of Wealth in Book of I Chou"), replacing the form of exploitation under the slave system with the feudal owner-tenant relationships. They used serfs or peasants to open up wasteland, extensively breaking the boundaries set up under the Chingt'ien system and posing a challenge to the system of landownership by the slave-owning nobility. Beginning with the mid-Spring and Autumn period, the various principalities had undergone a series of major changes both economically and politically. The state of Ch'i adopted the policy, proposed by Kuan Chung, of "levying land taxes," with the rates of taxes determined on the basis of the quality of the land. ("History of Ch'i in History of Warring States") Subsequently, land taxes were collected in different forms in the states of Tsin, Lu, Ch'u and Cheng. These reforms, though enacted with different desires of those who put them into effect and with differences in the degree and exent of reform, gave rise to a new system under which taxes were collected on the basis of the acreage of the cultivated land. This meant that rulers under the slave system could not but recognize a new form of exploitation, feudal in nature, and had to adapt their taxation system to the changes in the relations of production. Among these reforms, the economic reform--"the initial land taxes" and later the "taxes on the use of land"--introduced by the Huans when they were in control of political power in the state of Lu, clearly confirmed by means of taxation the new feudal relations of exploitation and the system of private landownership. All these reforms further contributed to the destruction of the Chingt'ien structure and to the acceleration of the establishment and development of the feudal relations of production.

Profound economic changes radically shook the ruling order of the slave system under which "the king commands the duke, the duke commands the senior officer, the senior officer commands the junior officer, and the junior officer commands the slaves." ("Seventh Year of Reign of Duke Chao in 'Tso Commentary'") This resulted in the redistribution of political power within the slave-owning nobility and between it and the newly emerging landlord class. This struggle was reflected in wars for annexation and hegemony among the princes. In wars, the old proprietary system under which "music, rituals and expeditions proceed from the Son of Heaven" was broken, the decadent and declining slave-owning nobles including the Son of Heaven of Chou were struck stunning blows, and group after group of representatives of the newly emerging landlord class forces broke the reins of the hereditary rank and emolument system under the slave system and joined the upper-level ruling cliques. Take a typical example. Chao Su and Pi Wan in the state of Tsin were promoted to be senior officers from warriors in recognition of their military merits and later became two of the founders of the feudal regimes in the states of Chao and Wei. In wars, the newly emerging landlord class forces used violence to smash the ossified political form of the slave system. Hundreds of small feudatory states under the slave system were destroyed, and the system of prefectures and

counties appeared as the opposite of the system of granting states and fiefs under the slave system. "Toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period, states were destroyed and turned into counties and prefectures in over half of the land." (Ku Tung-kao, "Chronology of Major Events During the Spring and Autumn Period: Table Showing Surnames of Nobles Preserved or Destroyed in the Various States of the Spring and Autumn Period") All this reflected the achievements of struggle by the newly emerging landlord class and created favorable conditions for it to seize power.

The sprouting of the Legalist thinking took place in the struggle of the newly emerging landlord class to oppose the slave system and establish the feudal system during the Spring and Autumn period. The Legalist thinking was advanced by Legalist forerunners on the basis of summing up the experience of struggle by the newly emerging landlord class in the course of criticizing the old concepts of the slave system. The idea of paying serious attention to farming and war and of honoring the worthy and the meritorious showed the strong desire of the newly emerging landlord class to expand its strength and raise its political status; it was a direct product of the practice of this struggle. In 546 B.C., a progressive statesman in the state of Sung by the name of Ssuch'eng Tzu-han saw the role of violence in smashing the old system and founding a new one and pointed out: "The rise of the sage, the fall of the bad, the fall, rise, preservation and extinction,... are all determined by military strength." ("27th Year of Reign of Duke Hsiang in 'Tso Commentary'") Such a progressive concept of war was obviously a historical generalization of wars for annexations and hegemony among the princes during the mid-Spring and Autumn period. Early in the 5th century B.C., Chao Yang, a representative of the newly emerging landlord class forces in the state of Tsin, openly declared in an oath he took before he departed with an expeditionary force: "Rewards will be given to those who defeat the enemy. The senior officer holding the first rank will be given a county, the senior officer holding the second rank a prefecture, the general officer a hundred thousand mow of land, the commoner the right to engage in industry and trade, and the slave set free." ("2nd Year of Reign of Duke Ai in 'Tso Commentary'") He clearly set the reward of military merit as an important measure to develop the feudal class political forces. This was also a concrete expression of the idea of honoring the worthy and the meritorious as emphasized by the reformers at that time. They called for "selecting the capable and using them," ("State Administration, Shuo Yüan") and "giving appointments to talented individuals." ("History of Ch'i in History of Warring States") These experiences drew serious attention from later Legalists.

This criticism by Legalist forerunners of the old concepts of the slave system was likewise a product of the violent struggle waged by the newly emerging landlord class with the support of slaves and common people against the slave-owning aristocrats. Since Yin and Chou, slave-owning aristocrats had consistently used the theory of "the mandate of Heaven" as a holy cloak of their reactionary rule in an attempt to make the people submit meekly without the courage to stand up against them. With the initial development of natural science in the Spring and Autumn period, people began to break their blind faith in nature. Under the violent impact of class struggle, the authority of the Son of Heaven of

Chou declined further, accelerating the disintegration of divine power. This gave rise to ideas of attaching importance to men and slighting Heaven, such as "people are the masters of gods," ("6th Year of Reign of Duke Huan in 'Tso Commentary'") "the rise of a state depends on people; its fall on gods," ("32nd Year of Reign of Duke Chuang in 'Tso Commentary'") and "the way of Heaven is distant, the way of man close." ("18th Year of Reign of Duke Chao in 'Tso Commentary'") Legalist forerunners absorbed these progressive ideas and transformed them to serve the struggle to establish a dictatorship of the landlord class. Teng Hsi put forward the militant proposition: "Just as Heaven doesn't give favors to men, so the ruler gives no favors to people," ("No Favors, Teng Hsi Tzu") implying the need to break the blind faith in the reactionary rule of the slave-owning aristocrats. It was precisely because he proceeded from the viewpoint antithetical to the theory of "the mandate of Heaven" that he dared to call for "not emulating the early kings and for doing away with propriety and righteousness," ("Refuting the 12 Scholars, Hsün Tzu") and to "take wrong for right, right for wrong." ("Right and Wrong, Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü") That was why he boldly challenged the traditional concepts of the slave-owning aristocrats, causing "great chaos in the state of Cheng and misleading the people." (Ibid) Shao Cheng Mao was falsely accused by Confucius of "persisting in a perverse course," "defending his lies" and "choosing the wrong things to do." ("Condemnation, Hsün Tzu") But this precisely showed his resolve to initiate reform and boldly challenge the traditional concepts of the slave-owning aristocrats, fully demonstrating the vigorous and robust revolutionary spirit of the newly emerging landlord class while it was ascending.

Marx pointed out: "Mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation." ("Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy") Had it not been for the existence of the material conditions and the needs of practical struggle for the transition from the slave to the feudal system in the Spring and Autumn period, the Legalist thinking would not have arisen at this time. Of course, Legalist thinking then was still in the budding stage, still stamped with the marks of supersession of the old by the new. For although the feudal economy had emerged in this period, it had not as yet become the main social form in many states, and although the landlord class was in the process of formation, it had not as yet established its own political regime. Consequently, the immaturity of Legalist thinking during this period was a reflection of immature feudal economic and class conditions. In any case, however, it had reached an ideological height that could possibly be reached at that time, providing rich ideological material for the formation and development of the Legalist school and also serving as the fountainhead for most of the economic, political and military views submitted by later Legalists.

II

During the intervening period between the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, the newly emerging landlord class successively captured power in many states, pronouncing the end of the slave era and the beginning of the feudal era. A period marked by "the greatest changes in ancient and modern times," (Wang Fu-chih, "On Studying the General Outline History") the Warring States period was one full of complicated class contradictions and class struggle, stirring up huge torrents and waves on the political stage in new depth and breadth--"the maintenance of domination by older classes and the conquest of domination by newly arising classes." ("Engels, "Karl Marx") The struggle for and against seizure of power and for and against restoration between the newly emerging landlord class and the slave-owning aristocracy constituted the principal problem of struggle in this period. The development of history called for the correct solution of this problem both in theory and practice and the foundation and consolidation of the dictatorship of the landlord class in order to expand the new feudal economic basis and suppress the restorationist activities of the slave-ownig aristocracy. This task fell on the shoulders of the early Legalists. From early to mid-Warring States period, Li Kuei, Wu Ch'i, and Shang Yang successively introduced reforms in the states of Wei, Ch'u and Ch'in. In the practice of struggle, each of them pushed the cause a step further from different aspects, summed up the experience of the newly emerging landlord class in capturing and consolidating political power, provided a number of important measures for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the landlord class, and developed Legalist thinking into an independent school with major repercussions in history.

It was under such historical conditions that the idea of rule by law, as a basic theory of the Legalist school, was advanced. Rule by law was diametrically opposed to rule by propriety which safeguarded the dictatorship of the slave-owning class. Early in the Spring and Autumn period, large-scale slave uprisings had destroyed the foundation of domination of the slave system, bringing about the situation in which "propriety withered and music ruined." Taking advantage of the favorable situation, the Legalist forerunners called for the promulgation of written laws. Toward the end of the 6th century B.C., the newly emerging landlord class in the state of Tsin cast tripods on which legal codes were inscribed; in the state of Cheng, Teng Hsi promulgated a set of penal laws, placing some restrictions on the special privileges of the slave-owning nobles. During the Warring States period, the newly emerging landlord class not only wanted to restrict the special privileges of the slave-owning class, but also wanted to replace it and found its own dictatorship. In the State of Wei, Li Kuei completed the first book of written laws--"Fa Ching"--for the newly emerging landlord class in our country. It gave legal recognition and protection to the system of ownership by the landlord class and played a progressive role in the suppression of restorationist activities by the slave-owning nobles. Chairman Mao points out: "Revolutionary dictatorship and counter-revolutionary dictatorship differ in nature, but the former is learned from the latter." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") The dictatorship of the landlord class was learned from the dictatorship of

the slave-owning class. From the bloody incidents in which a great number of reformers and Legalists were brutally killed by the restorationist forces of slave-owners during reforms, Shang Yang summed up the experience and lessons, pointing out that "there is no greater task in making the law prevail than to get rid of evil officials," ("Enlightenment, Book of Lord Shang") thus taking the suppression of the resistance of slave-owning aristocrats as the primary task in his reform program. In the ideological sphere, he "burned the books of poetry and history and made the laws and decrees clear" ("Mr. Ho, Han Fei Tzu") and "rejected travelling scholars," ("A Word of Advice, Book of Lord Shang") firmly attacking the Confucians representing the declining slave-owning class. These ideas of rule by law formulated by the early Legalists exerted tremendous historical effects on the establishment of the feudal system under the dictatorship of the newly emerging landlord class.

The hereditary system under the slave system posed a huge stumbling block to the enforcement of the rule of law. After the landlord class had seized power, the existence of patriarchical concepts of gradation under the hereditary and slave systems still enabled agents of slave-owning aristocrats to take control of many vital departments of the political structure. Making use of their own positions, they frantically carried out restorationist activities, which constituted a serious threat to the new-born political structure of the landlord class. The struggle of the landlord class to consolidate its political power demanded that these agents of slave-owning aristocrats be expelled from the government organs, the vacancies filled by talented people loyal to feudal rule. So, both Li Kuei and Wu Ch'i specifically unfolded criticism against such old concepts as "honoring one's relatives" and "respecting one's elders" under the slave system and voiced their opposition against the hereditary system. This was a further development of the Legalist forerunners' concept of honoring the worthy and meritorious. Summing up their historical experience, Shang Yang laid down a 20-grade rank system for military merits so that "people are given official posts and titles according to their merit." He set down the rule that "those who perform merit shall rise to eminence and honor; those who perform no merit shall have no honor, though they are wealthy." ("Lord Shang, Historical Records") He took away the privileged position of slave-owning aristocrats without military merit and abolished the hereditary system. These policies adopted by the Legalists raised the status of the newly emerging landlord class and expanded the social basis of the Legalist line.

The idea of farming and war had by the Warring States period developed into a major, fundamental policy for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the landlord class. The early Legalists had profoundly realized in the course of struggle: "The rise of a state is due to farming and war." "A state can secure peace only through farming and war; a ruler can secure respect in only the same way." ("On Agriculture and War, Book of Lord Shang") This meant that if the economic basis of the feudal system was not strengthened in the economic sphere and if revolutionary violence was not used to suppress the restorationist activities

of the slave-owning nobles, the political power the newly emerging landlord class had seized might be lost. Li Kuei favored "instruction in the maximum use of the land." ("Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han") That is to say, the land owned by the state should be distributed to the peasants and various measures taken to promote the development of agricultural production in order to consolidate the feudal economy. Shang Yang favored "breaking the Chingt'ien fields, removing the markers," (Ibid) allowing free transactions in land and abolishing the Chingt'ien system entirely in order to make it possible for the system of private landownership by the landlord class to be established in more areas. In addition, he favored "refraining from doing what is the least important, and doing what is the most fundamental," ("Treachery, Robbery and Slaying of Officials, Han Fei Tzu"), adopting the policy of placing the main emphasis on agriculture and restricting commerce and administering a powerful rebuff to the offensive of the slave-owners in industry and commerce against the feudal relations of production. At the same time, Shang Yang and others set forth the shining idea of "eliminating war with war" and "eliminating punishment with punishment," ("Strategy, Book of Lord Shang") insisting that revolutionary violence be used to deal with counter-revolutionary violence by the slave-owning aristocrats. At that time, the Confucians, with Mencius as their representative, tossed out the reactionary doctrine of "benevolent government," going all out to condemn revolutionary violence in an attempt to save the Chingt'ien system from destruction. Ferociously, they cried aloud: "Those who are skillful to fight should suffer the highest punishment," "next to them shall be punished those who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground on the people." ("Li Lou Part I, Mencius") This showed the extreme fear and hatred of the declining slave-owning class for the Legalist policy of farming and war, and reflected the sharp class antagonism between the Confucian and Legalist schools.

Lenin said: "Class struggle, the struggle waged by the exploited against the exploiters among people, is the basis of political change and ultimately decides the fate of all political changes." (Preface to "Report by Police Commissioner Lopuzin (洛普兴)") No wonder that it was with the support and cooperation of the struggling laboring people that the early Legalists made colossal contributions to the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the landlord class. However, due to limitations imposed by historical conditions, it was still impossible for them to theoretically formulate a more complete ideological and political line necessary for the founding of a unified feudal country. And this historical task could only be completed by the outstanding representatives of the later Legalists--Hsün K'uang and Han Fei. In the late Warring States period, the creation of separate independent dominions by the princes was seriously hindering the development of society, providing the restorationist forces of the slave-owners the opportunities they needed. But national unification had become an urgent demand and inexorable trend of historical development. Going along with the historical tide, Hsün K'uang put forward the idea of "one world." Han Fei, who synthesized the views of the Legalists, made a general summing up of the experiences of the struggle of the landlord class to seize political power and oppose restoration, in particular the experience of its struggle with the Confucians, and seriously absorbed the ideological achievements accumulated by the pre-Ch'in Legalists in struggle.

This enabled him to provide the newly emerging landlord class with a systematic revolutionary theory and a more complete Legalist ideological and political line for founding a unified feudal country of centralized power. Ch'in Shih Huang practiced this line and eventually consummated the great cause of unifying the whole of China.

III

Historical facts show that the Legalist thinking did not drop from the skies, nor was it inherent in people's minds, still less did it grow from the ideological rubbish tank of the Confucian school. It emerged from the economic and political soil of the newly emerging landlord class in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, a product of big social changes in those days. "Under conditions where classes exist, there are as many classes as there are doctrines, and even in the various cliques of one class there are different doctrines." ("On New Democracy") In the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods marked by great social upheavals, there were a host of schools of thought representing different political interests of different classes, as witnessed the contention among a hundred schools of thought. However, as far as the essence of the contention was concerned, the Confucian-Legalist struggle was its main thread, having direct or indirect links with the existence and development of the various schools of thought. As between certain schools of thought, there was also mutual attraction. For instance, the Legalist and Taoist schools shared certain approximate views in the criticism of Confucianism, so the Legalists were able to make use of certain ideological material of the Taoists and remodeled them to serve their struggle against the Confucians. There was a certain logic for Ssuma Ch'ien to put Lao Tzu and Han Fei together in commenting on these two figures in his work "Historical Records." However, for such ideological material also, it could only be absorbed critically in such a manner that its essence was acquired while its dross was discarded. It is even more important to see that as a new school of thought at that time, the Legalist school had its economic origin. The antagonism between the Legalist and Confucian schools was the basic antagonism between two classes and two lines. As Han Fei said: "Ice and burning coal cannot co-exist in the same container for long, nor do winter and summer arrive at the same time." ("Eminence of Learning, Han Fei Tzu") The Confucian and Legalist schools were deadly foes to each other. However, the Confucian scholar of the Han dynasty, Pan Ku, said nonsensically that the Legalist school "gives rewards and metes out punishment as promised out of a judicial sense in order to supplement the system of propriety." ("Treatise of Literature and Art, History of Han") He described the Legalist school as a product of the state machine under the slave system, playing the role of an adjunct to the Confucian school. This was gross distortion of history. The so-called "judicial" referred to the official post in charge of punishment in a state under the slave system, but the appearance of the Legalist school basically had nothing to do with it. However, Pan Ku arbitrarily put these together, saying ludicrously that the Legalist school had a "judicial sense." His reactionary aim was to depreciate the Legalist school and tarnish its brilliant image in calling for reform and progress. Copying this reactionary fallacy of Pan Ku's, the traitor Lin Piao viciously denounced

the Legalist school as a "punitive school" with the sinister motive of demeaning the Legalist school, making a Legalist look like a butcher with a green face and protruding teeth, and by this means attacked and opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to restore capitalism.

In history there was a phenomenon like this: A small number of early Legalists had been the students of certain Confucians. For instance, Li Kuei had been a student of Tzu Hsia, and Wu Ch'i a student of Tseng Ts'an. But can it be said that the Legalist school was developed from the Confucian school? Of course not. Chairman Mao points out: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." ("On Practice") The thinking of the Confucian and Legalist schools reflected different interests, demands and wishes of two classes--the declining slave-owning class and the newly emerging landlord class. Both schools had their own respective clearcut partisan character. If we substitute the teacher-student relationship for a concrete historical class analysis of the views and opinions of the two schools, the Confucian and Legalist, we would certainly fall into the quagmire of "theory of human nature." In class society, the relationship between teacher and student has always been a political relationship; there never has been any teacher-student relationship in the abstract. While there are certainly many cases in which teacher and student share the same political will and interests, cases in which student opposes and criticizes his teacher have not been few either. While the Legalist school pursued a reform and progressive line, the line pushed by the Confucian school was one of restoring the old order and returning to the past. The two lines were clearly different and sharply opposed to each other. Between the Confucian and Legalist, there is no such thing as teacher-student relationship as far as the line is concerned. Historical facts amply demonstrate this. Tzu Hsia preached that "life and death have their determined appointment; riches and honors depend upon Heaven;" ("Yen Yüan, Confucian Analets") Li Kuei called for employment of human talent and "full utilization of the land." Both were sharply divided in line. In the case of Wu Ch'i in particular, although he had been a student of Tseng Ts'an for a few days, he betrayed the Confucian doctrine of filial piety, abandoned the Confucian line, and devoted himself to the Legalist line. As a result, he was "expelled by Tseng Tzu, and their relationship was ended." ("Sun Tzu and Wu Ch'i, Historical Records") This fact shows more than anything else that there is no room for compromise on the question of line. Therefore, it is completely wrong to cover up and obliterate the basic conflict between the Confucian and Legalist lines with the teacher-student relationship.

In history there was another phenomenon, that is, some of the Legalists were formerly Confucians. Hsün Tzu was an example. But likewise this cannot be taken as the basis for the assumption that the Legalist school originated from the Confucian school. Having fought his way out from the Confucian camp which represented the declining slave-owing class, Hsün Tzu became an outstanding figure of the Legalist school representing the newly emerging landlord class. This was a basic change

from one class to another. Therefore, Hsün Tzu's thinking was basically opposed to the Confucian thinking. While the Confucians favored learning from the early kings, Hsün Tzu called for learning from the later kings; the Confucians favored rule by propriety, Hsün Tzu called for rule of law; the Confucians trumpeted the theory of "Heavenly will," Hsün Tzu put forward the brilliant idea of "bringing the will of Heaven under control and using it." All these show that Hsün Tzu had completely turned himself over to the revolutionary class. The appearance of this historical phenomenon was as Marx and Engels pointed out in "Communist Manifesto": "In times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumed such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands." Hsün Tzu's transformation from a Confucian to a Legalist was completed at a time when the struggle between the newly emerging landlord class and the slave-owning class in the late Warring States period was nearing the decisive hour and through the criticism of the Confucian school represented by Tzu Szu and Mencius. The chieftain of the opportunist line Ch'en Tu-hsiu yelled, "the Legalist school was originally a branch of the Confucian school." ("Oriental Magazine," Vol. 34, Nos. 18-19) The Kuomintang anti-communist element Ch'en Po-ta babbled that the "formulation of law" by the Legalist school was "in fact an extension of the doctrines of names and rule by propriety of the Confucian school." ("History of Literature," Vol. 1, No. 3) Writing a lot on Hsün Tzu, they arrived at the ridiculous conclusion that the Legalist school was an offshoot of the Confucian school. This was downright nonsense running counter to Marxist historical materialism and method of class analysis!

Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lin Piao and other chieftains of the opportunist lines, stepping into the shoes of Confucius worshippers over the ages, clung to historical idealism on the question of emergence of the Legalist school and did their best to lower the historical position of the Legalist school. In other words, they attempted to stir up the reactionary tide of thought honoring the Confucian school and opposing the Legalist school as a means of pushing their reactionary political line and putting back the clock of history. However, the huge wheels of history cannot be turned back. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system. The disgraceful end of people like Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Lin Piao proves that this general trend of historical development is irresistible. Under the present favorable situation, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, link a successful study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat closely with the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, make clear the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie both in theory and practice, reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry through to the end the continued revolution under this dictatorship.

* * *

Take the Tach'ing Road, Build a "Railway on the Sea"

by

the CCP Committee of Hutung Shipyard

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Since Chairman Mao issued his great call "In industry, learn from Tach'ing," tremendous changes have taken place in the features of revolution and production in our shipyard. Ten years ago, we could only build ships under 3,000 tons. Today, we can build 10,000-ton class passenger ships, 25,000-ton freighters and marine diesel engines of 12,000 horsepower. In 1974, as compared with 1964, the gross output value rose by five times, profits delivered to the State 4.8 times and labor productivity 3.6 times.

Although we have made some progress over the last ten years, it has not been all smooth sailing as we have gone through a violent struggle between the two lines. Ten years of struggle have enabled us to deeply realize that in order to run a socialist enterprise well, we must keep to the Party's basic line as resolutely as Tach'ing does, and strengthen all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie so that the leadership of the enterprise will be firmly held in the hands of the proletariat. It is also only by so doing that the policy of "independence and self-reliance" can be truly enforced in developing the shipbuilding industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

China is a country with a very long coastline, numerous rivers and lakes, and she needs a strong shipbuilding industry. The broad masses of ship-builders are also highly enthusiastic in developing China's shipbuilding industry. Many old workers in our shipyard had repaired many foreign ships before the liberation, but they had never built a Chinese ship. After the liberation, with China having her own shipbuilding industry, they always had a desire to build a "railway on the sea" as speedily as possible. Whenever a new marine diesel engine or a new passenger ship or freighter was being built, many workers insisted on working around the clock. However, for a long time the socialist enthusiasm of the masses could not be brought into full play due to interference of the revisionist line. There has always been a very acute struggle between the two lines on a series of questions, such as: to build our own ships in a large number or simply rely on buying and chartering ships? To rely on the masses in developing new techniques or crawl behind others? To warmly support new things or pick on them and pour cold water on the masses? In 1958, answering Chairman Mao's call, workers of our shipyard, setting themselves lofty ambitions, independently designed and produced a diesel engine of 2,000 horsepower and then began to produce a large 8,800 h.p. diesel engine in conjunction with the construction of a 10,000-ton vessel. However, Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line was suppressing the workers' creativeness, championing the slavish compradore philosophy of "buying ships is better than building ships, and chartering ships is better than buying ships." The vigorous mass movement was set back.

In 1960, our shipyard fitted a cast steel crankshaft into 8,800 h.p. diesel engine, and both its chemical composition and mechanical function were up to standard. This was an achievement of the policy of "independence and self-reliance." However, some people who had blind faith in things foreign, while they did not say anything about the pinhole appearing like a hornet's nest on the imported crankshaft, loudly protested against the small pinhole with little harmful effect on the first crankshaft produced by China, and flagrantly reported it as obsolete. When the workers argued and reasoned with them, they did not listen and insisted on cutting up the crankshaft as scrap. The workers on the spot could not tolerate it any longer. They came forward and said: "What you want to destroy is not merely a crankshaft but the spirit of the Chinese workers!" The workers kept this shaft, saying: "We'll keep it for ten or twenty years if we have to. It will have a new life some day!" Carefully protecting this shaft, they took a look at it almost every day. Seven years later, that is by 1967, Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line was criticized during the great proletarian cultural revolution, and this crankshaft was unwrapped and, after minor adjustment, fitted into a 8,800 h.p. marine diesel engine. Since then, another seven years has elapsed and this crankshaft has been performing well on a 15,000-ton tanker. A crankshaft had two different fates in two 7-year periods. This fact has profoundly educated our shipyard's workers, who have deeply realized: So acute is the struggle between the two lines on the industrial front that either the east wind prevails over the west wind or the west wind prevails over the east wind. Our comrades used to deal with problems in industrial production on the merit of each case, and although they may appear to grasp the line, they have in fact not adhered to the Party's basic line. As a consequence, things always turn out to be contrary to their expectations, and nothing can be done well. In the ten years since we started learning from Tach'ing, our shipyard has persisted in continuous criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie, and has built larger, better and more marine diesel engines, passenger ships and freighters. "Grasp revolution and promote production"-- this is indeed an immutable truth. Without the Party's basic line and without the great proletarian cultural revolution and the great struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our shipyard would not have achieved its new outlook.

Chairman Mao says: "Historical experience merits attention. A line and a viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them to a small number of people; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." In grasping the line struggle on the industrial front and in criticizing revisionism and the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to rely on the broad masses of workers. Only by fully mobilizing the masses and exposing contradictions will it be possible to allow one and all to distinguish, through comparison and evaluation, the correct line from the wrong line. The same is true for the criticism of the idea of worshipping things foreign. Since China was formerly a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, long subjected to aggression and oppression by the imperialists, there is a definite market

for the idea of worshipping things foreign. Some technicians trained in old schools, having blind faith in things from "foreign literature," look down on the creations of the masses. Besides, with our country at present practicing a commodity system, some people do not persist in placing proletarian politics in command, do not proceed from the interests of the whole, and do not seriously consider the basic interests of the state in pondering problems. Rather, they are concerned with the viability of their own department or enterprise, are easily attracted by the theory that "buying ships is better than building ships, and chartering ships is better than buying ships," and always find faults with new products and new processes created with our own efforts. Therefore, to thoroughly criticize and discredit the reactionary ideas of the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie in worshipping foreign things, it is necessary to boldly mobilize the masses and create the public opinion.

In recent years, our shipyard has made repeated and incessant criticism of ideas of worshipping foreign things. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius alone, five big upsurges of mass criticism have appeared. Generally using the "four big" weapons, displaying facts and reasoning things out, the workers have fully exposed the danger of the slavish compradore philosophy and crawling behind others at a snail's pace, while stressing the revolutionary spirit of "independence and self-reliance." The worker theoretical contingent is also studying history in light of current struggle, giving talks on the history of development of China's shipbuilding industry and the struggle between the Confucian and Legalists schools in respect to the development of science and technology. Through criticism and lectures, the broad masses of workers have been given a profound lesson on self-reliance and have made clear some basic questions. It is recognized that the policy of self-reliance is a basic policy that cannot be altered under any circumstances because it insures that our country will never again be subjected to bullying and oppression by imperialism and social-imperialism and will develop her economy independently. As to foreign experiences including techniques, we must study them seriously. But we must not crawl slowly behind others. At the very mention of the manufacture of marine diesel engines, some people would want to buy a licence, thinking that "buying a licence is the safe thing to do; developing it by ourselves is risky." This is wrong. One year we intended to sign a licence agreement from a foreign capitalist. According to this agreement, we would have to pay a substantial amount of foreign exchange at the beginning. After that, we would have to pay a certain licence fee for each engine made. Besides, we would have to report to them twice a year about our production plan and operations. They would have the right to come to our shipyard for inspection. If disputes arose, these would have to be subject to "arbitration" by third countries. And so on and so forth. The workers said: To develop China's shipbuilding industry faster, we endorse buying some licences and importing some advanced technology under the principle of equality and mutual benefit. But if we have to accept such harsh conditions, would this mean we allow foreign capitalists to control the fate of our shipbuilding industry?

We can't buy such licences! Criticism of the doctrine of crawling along at a snail's pace immediately aroused the revolutionary ardor of the masses. When we were manufacturing the 10,000 h.p. marine diesel engine, we indeed ran into great difficulties, the quality of the universal joint bearing on the diesel engine being a particularly serious problem. However, courageously battling around the clock, the workers studied the problems carefully and had almost a hundred trial-runs of the engine, with each test lasting two hours. The workers crawled into the hot engine frame and examined the bearing with their hands. In this way, after several months of continuous testing, they finally settled the problem of quality. To insure safety and reliability of the differential mechanism controlling the ship's reverse drive, the workers and technicians carried out over 1,200 tests in succession before attaining the prescribed technical standard. To increase the rate of shipbuilding the workers asked to work harder in order to build 10,000-ton vessels more quickly and to make more contributions to the mother country in the spirit of communist labor. They said proudly: We dedicate our lives to socialism, making use of every minute in which we live. Last year, two 7,500-ton passenger-cargo ships had to be built on a crash basis. It happened to be the hot summer. The temperature in the hold was as high as 40-50 degrees. The workers said, "The workers of Tach'ing have no winter, we ship-builders have no summer!" For over 40 days they kept on working very hard and at night persisted in study and criticism. Two large passenger-cargo ships were finally launched into the water and delivered at the same time at the end of the year. This was a new record in the history of our shipyard.

The key to carrying out the policy of "independence and self-reliance" is held by the leadership. Formerly our shipyard could only build ships under 3,000 tons. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, the workers proposed to build 7,500-ton high-speed ocean-going passenger-cargo ships in order to lay more "railways on the sea" for the mother country. However, some people fettered by foreign conventions thought that without "big, foreign and complete" equipment, it was impossible to make "high-standard, precise and top-notch" products. They held that since the shipbuilding platform was small, we couldn't build a large ship. Some of our leading cadres who failed to keep to the correct line also agreed that conditions did not exist for building large ships. In May 1970, the "Red sentinels" of the 22nd squad of the casting workshop heard that the Shanghai Shipyard had built a 10,000-ton vessel on a 3,000-ton ship platform and compared it with our shipyard. They then put up a big-character poster raising the question: If a fraternal shipyard could build a large ship on a small platform, why can't we build a 7,500-ton passenger-cargo ship? At the beginning, we didn't fully understand this revolutionary action of the masses, so the leadership helped us mobilize the masses, expose the contradictions, distinguish between right and wrong and raise our understanding, setting the scene for a dynamic battle to make the shipbuilding industry stand on its own feet. Following the continuous deepening of the criticism of the revisionist line on running enterprises, the first 7,500-ton passenger-cargo ship, called Long March, was launched five months ahead of schedule.

This episode profoundly educated us. Chairman Mao once criticized those with Rightist ideas, saying that such people are always passive and halt their pace at critical moments, that they need to be give a big push on the back before they would take a step forward. Moreover, he pointed out that to cure this Right obstinacy, it is necessary to maintain close ties with the masses. During these years, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we have organized cadres to join the workers in study, criticism and labor. Adopting the method of rotation at regular intervals, we have organized cadres to go to workshops for labor, sending out six or seven groups each year, with each group spending one and a half month. In recent years, cadres of our Party and revolutionary committees have each spent an average of 80 days in labor a year, and workshop cadres more than 100 days. Battling in the intense heat of summer and the severe cold of winter together with the workers, they let their sweat wash away the idealist ideas from their heads and the cold wind blow away their "bureaucratic" airs. By going deep among the masses and listening more to them, they have also transformed their thoughts and sentiments. Revolutionary practice has made many of our cadres see that revisionist ideas such as that of admiring foreign things are basically disagreeable to the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. If we separate ourselves from the advanced workers standing at the forefront of struggle, our sense of smell would become blunt and we would not be able to grasp the essence of the line struggle. In 1973, when we were trial-manufacturing a big marine diesel engine of a rather high technical standard, some people blew up a gust of cold wind, saying that trial-manufacture of such a diesel engine had failed in an industrially advanced capitalist country, and that we should waste no more effort. At that time, we were indeed confronted with a lost of technical difficulties. Should we go on? Many wavered. How were we to deal with the matter? The Party committee decided to hold direct consultations with the masses. We held an informal meeting at the workshop manufacturing this diesel engine. The mood of the workers was completely different. They said: Although there are technical difficulties, our state system is far superior to that of capitalist countries, and we can overcome the technical problems by our own effort. "No difficulty, however great, can make us shake our heads," they said. At that time, a college professor who happened to be visiting our plant was so deeply touched by the high enthusiasm of the workers that he on his own initiative asked his school to allow him to stay behind to work with the workers in beating the problems in making this diesel engine. By relying on the masses of workers, our shipyard Party committee resisted the cold wind and won the support of technicians willing to take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants. As a result, the diesel engine was made and has now been installed on a ship, and it has functioned well.

At present, our workers and staff members are penetratingly studying the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have deeply realized that learning from Tach'ing and running the enterprise well is aimed at achieving the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and realizing communism. We must keep on advancing courageously toward this

goal. All workers and staff members are determined to plant the Tach'ing banner in the shipyard and emulate the late Wang Chin-hsi so as to strive to better fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and make new contributions to building "railways on the sea" for our mother country!

* * *

Run the Enterprise in the Revolutionary Spirit of the Proletariat

- Investigation report on Kirin City Fats & Oil Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, June 1, 1975)

Kirin City Fats and Oil Plant is an advanced unit in "learning from Tach'ing in industry" in Kirin province. Motivated by the proletarian cultural revolution, the staff members and workers have conscientiously studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, penetratingly criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and consciously fought against the influence and erosion of bourgeois thinking. As a result, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in founding one's enterprise through hard work has been greatly promoted. Their socialist enthusiasm has soared to unprecedented high, and both revolution and production have been developed in a big way.

This plant was originally a collectively-owned enterprise to begin with. When it was founded in 1958, it had only three boilers operated by 12 housewives headed by a cripled war veteran entitled to special treatment. It was poorly equipped, but under the Party's leadership, it has been developed with socialist drive and self-reliance into an enterprise under whole-people ownership, with more than 500 staff members and workers and with certain modern equipment.

With the enterprise gradually growing in scale and improving in conditions, the question of whether it is necessary to continue to promote the spirit of hard work and plain living often arises. The struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies is reflected first of all within the leading group. Some comrades believe that now that the plant is owned by the State, which supplies it with material and sells its products, they may afford to relax. Previously, the plant wasted not a single drop of oil. Oil was recovered from the ground, barrel rims, and wipers. Later, when some cadres saw oil spilled on the ground, they seemed not to care at all. They thought: "We are big now. If we hold the watermelon, why exert the effort to pick up the sesame." The appearance of these ideas aroused the attention of the Party committee. They again studied Chairman Mao's teachings on running all businesses industriously and frugally and class struggle in society, and found that such ideas of ostentation were not accidental. They showed that within a socialist enterprise a fierce struggle between bourgeois and socialist ideologies is going on all the time. The bourgeoisie always uses its ideological influence to erode our enterprise and our ranks. To think that with the enterprise developed we may afford to be a bit extravagant is exactly a bourgeois idea. If we do not understand and are not vigilant against this, we will lose the revolutionary spirit of building an enterprise through hard work and set the enterprise on a wrong course. So, together with the cadres and the masses, the Party committee held repeated discussions on this question: with conditions improved, is it necessary to further develop the spirit of running an enterprise with diligence and frugality? Should we raise our ideological level in keeping with the development of the factory? Recalling our personal experiences and the history of the plant, everyone of us saw more clearly that to run

the plant self-reliantly, diligently and frugally is a component part of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and a basic policy of running socialist enterprises well, embodying as it does the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Whether it is possible to continue to preserve and develop this spirit under new conditions is a test to the Party committee of an enterprise whether it can persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To continue the revolution and advance, we must always be on our guard and resist the influence and erosion of bourgeois ideology.

Criticism of bourgeois thinking and resistance against its influence and erosion should begin with the leading group. Through the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the plant Party committee has in the course of repeatedly repudiating the revisionist line realized that whether the leading group of the Party committee has the correct style of thinking has a great bearing on the orientation and road of the enterprise. When leading cadres persist in promoting the proletarian style of thinking they can easily understand Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and implement it resolutely. If, on the other hand, they are corrupted by bourgeois ideas, not only will they fail to thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, but they are likely to practice the revisionist theory. Therefore, over the past years, serious attention has been given to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao and to linking study with the transformation of one's world outlook, with members of the Party committee setting the example in preserving and developing the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and taking the lead in criticizing the idea of bourgeois right and resisting bourgeois influence.

Promotion of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, so far as the leadership of the enterprise is concerned, requires one important thing to be done, that is, "never divorce yourself from the masses for a single moment" but to persist in sharing the weal and woe with them, firmly oppose the idea of bourgeois privileges, and be a servant of the people, not a bureaucrat lording it over the masses. Over the past years leading cadres of the plant have persistently participated in labor, "doing their duties in office, working on the bench, laboring at the front." In the whole of last year, members of the Party committee generally spent more than a hundred days in doing labor. The battle for building a fat alcohol workshop on a crash basis took 60 days, during which members of the Party committee consistently toiled alongside the workers. Many buildings have been erected by the plant in the past few years, but the Party committee still uses the same old house it occupied more than a decade ago for its office. The secretary of the plant Party committee is a cripled armyman entitled to special treatment, yet he has not lost his fighting will, still maintaining the same vigor he displayed during the revolutionary war years, taking the lead in revolutionary work and consciously working like an ordinary man. When someone saw that he still used the same coal stove in his house to get warmth, he suggested that he should install a home-made heater. He replied: "Many workers use coal stoves. We can't do otherwise." The young cadres of the plant also place strict demands on themselves and preserve the features of ordinary laborers. A young worker

was appointed to be a cadre not long after she entered the plant, and according to state regulations she was entitled to full wages of a worker. However, she felt that other young people who entered the plant at the same time as she were still receiving the pay of an apprentice, and she should not be different from them after she had become a cadre. So, she returned the extra pay, saying: "Although I've become a cadre, I'm still an apprentice. Why should I be paid more than others?"

Should one who becomes a cadre be different from the workers? They hold that within a socialist enterprise both cadres and workers are ordinary laborers, differing in no other way than in the nature of their duties and jobs. According to Chairman Mao's teaching "one should be not only an 'official' but also a common person," the Party committee urges the cadres to intermingle with the workers. For the past years, according to the requirements of work, the plant has selected a group of cadres from among the workers and invited the workers to participate in the management. At the same time, plant cadres have been sent to the workshops and workshop cadres returned to the bench. It is felt that this will do them good. A vice chairman of the revolutionary committee has gone to workshops and technical rooms several times in the six years since the revolutionary committee was founded, and he has always maintained abundant revolutionary spirit. An old worker became the head of a work section three times and each time returned to the bench later, and he has kept up his vigor. In the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a vice chairman of the revolutionary committee on his own initiative asked to become a worker and offer his post to a young comrade. In this plant, it has become a general practice for cadres to work at the top and at the bottom, thereby developing the comradely socialist relationship between cadres and workers.

An enterprise does not exist in isolation. Class struggle and the evil bourgeois spirit in society will be reflected in the enterprise through various channels. The supply and marketing department of the plant is the center for the purchase of raw materials and exchange of products, having more contact with various quarters. Sometimes, when its purchasing agents go to other areas to ask for earlier supply of raw materials, they are given hints by the other party that some gifts are necessary. At times, people of other units may bring along gifts with them when they come to the plant to make purchases. In handling such cases, should we persist in putting proletarian politics in command and uphold socialist principles or practice the bourgeois operating style of mutual exploitation? This question is often posed sharply. The plant Party committee soberly recognizes that failure to stick to correct principles on this question may lead to the unbridled spread of bourgeois ideas, so it often organizes cadres of the supply and marketing department to hold discussions in light of realities so as to increase their capacity to resist bourgeois ideas. Once, a purchasing agent went to another area to obtain delivery of goods. He saw that those who offered gifts could get things done quickly, so he took money out of his own pocket and invited the people concerned to a dinner. He felt that there was nothing wrong if he could do his job fast without using the plant's money. On learning about this, the plant Party committee held a discussion meeting

in the plant, and helped this purchasing agent recognize that inviting people to dinner and presenting them with gifts was a bourgeois vulgar style, a style that should not be accommodated at all. Despite the fact that no money of the plant was used, one would still find his thinking corrupted if he continued doing such things. With the support of the plant Party committee, the supply and marketing section of the plant sticks to principles and rules in doing things and maintains the style of hard work and plain living. A deputy director of this section has visited many cities in the country, but he always insisted on buying a seat ticket, and not a bed ticket on the train, thereby saving a lot in travelling expenses for the state. For the past years the plant Party committee and the workers, when dealing with fraternal units, have consistently observed this rule: In requesting help from fraternal units they ask no more than they need; in helping fraternal units, they do so without reservation; in handling the relations between supply and demand, they stick to principle and abide by policy, without favors, invitation to dinner or presentation of gifts. For their such good style of work, they have been commended by the higher organs and praised by fraternal units.

Thanks to the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers and staff members of this plant have greatly raised their consciousness of class and line struggles. From among them have emerged a group of advanced personalities with the communist attitude toward labor. This group includes old workers and old cadres as well as new workers and new cadres. They have one thing in common: they have the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, capable of consciously breaking the bondage of old bourgeois ideas and habits, "working in the revolutionary way." The appearance of these advanced personalities led the plant Party committee to recognize that with the socialist enthusiasm of the masses continuing to rise, it is necessary to further "expand the propaganda on communist ideas," to ardently support new things among the masses. In conjunction with education on the Party's basic line, it has commended a group of advanced personalities among the workers, extensively publicizing their advanced deeds. This has produced considerable influence. During each of the past several years this plant has had new construction projects. In the spirit of founding an enterprise through hard work and plain living, the workers of the plant have carried out production and capital construction at the same time. They have built more than 10,000 square meters of plant buildings and dormitories, basically with their own hands. Sometimes, when shock work has to be done, cadres and workers, while doing their shifts in the daytime, would go to the worksite at night to build a house. On Saturdays they would join together for labor and work with considerable drive. Since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, more than 300 young people have entered the plant in three separate groups. Under the old workers' guidance, they have thrown themselves actively into capital construction activities, braving themselves for hardship and fatique. The first group of young people entering the plant has built with their own hands a recreation club and a mess hall covering a total of over 1,000 square meters. The second group of young people organized themselves into a shock brigade and sank a big well supplying 200 tons of water per hour. The third group of young people for three consecutive months took part in the work of building an anti-explosion

workshop. It is generally held that doing this is not merely to create material wealth or save a few cents, but, more important, to carry forward "the vigor, revolutionary enthusiasm and daring death-defying spirit displayed during the revolutionary war years." For the past four years, half of these young people have been admitted into the CYL, and 45 into the Party. A young workers contingent with socialist consciousness and culture is maturing.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The Kirin City Fats and Oil Plant has maintained and promoted the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, the spirit of founding an enterprise through hard work and plain living, chiefly because it has adhered to the Party's basic line as the key link, and in the course of its development, firmly grasped the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Through their own practice, the workers of the plant have observed even more deeply that "without a firm and correct political orientation, it is impossible to develop the style of hard work and plain living; without the style of hard work and plain living, it is also impossible to adhere to a firm and correct political orientation." That is why they have been able to consciously resist the influence and erosion of bourgeois ideas, better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and speed up the development of production and construction. Today, this plant has developed from one producing a single product to one producing more than 80 kinds of products, four of which are new petrochemical products in the country. For the past decade and more, it has overfulfilled its state plans ahead of schedule every year, and has made increasing contributions to the state. At the moment, it is stirring up an upsurge in the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, further developing the movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry." Determined to sum up its experience and find out its shortcomings, it will make itself into a strong citadel for exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Investigation Team of CCP Kirin Provincial
Committee and CCP Kirin Municipal Committee

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

U.S. MAIL

CMP X751231 001
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680